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THESIS

NON-CONSCIOUS SEX ROLE IDEOLOGY:
THE IMPLICATIONS FOR OPTIMAL
UTILIZATION OF U.S. SERVICEWOMEN

by

Johnnie M. Boynton

March 1984

Thesis Advisor: R. McGonigal

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A consideration of the manifestations and implications of sex-role ideology in mainstream American society, and its military microcosms is provided. It is reasoned that

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Non-conscious Sex Role Ideology: The Implications for Optimal Utilization of U.S. Servicewomen

by

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

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from the

NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL
March 1984

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. PROBLEM

The rapid technological advances that characterize U.S. society have resulted in increased demands for personnel who possess or have the propensity to develop managerial skills and technical competencies [Ref. 1: p. 3]. Competition for securing and retaining these individuals is becoming keen as the public and private sectors compete to exploit the declining pool of available personnel resources. The challenge is even more complex for the traditionally male-dominated military services; for they are faced with a twenty-five percent decline in the number of prospective male recruits in the next decade [Ref. 2: p. 1]. The services can, as an option for maintaining force levels, recruit larger numbers of women, who offer the prospect of increased personnel resources at desired quality standards [Ref. 2: p. 2; Ref. 1: p. 150].

Significant increases in the numbers and roles of servicewomen have taken place since 1972. Given these trends and prospects, it is surprising that research attention on women's participation has been so sparse [Ref. 3: p. 2], speculative and so seldomly based on empirical indices [Ref. 4: p. 98]. Efforts have, for the most part, dwelt on speculating the negative implications of women's physiology and traditional interpersonal-psychosocial patterns which might impact on

mission effectiveness--with emphasis on the combat mission. Noticeably lacking has been a corresponding analysis of those sex-role attitudes, organizational norms, and interpersonal dynamics that impact on male and female performance in military job areas designated traditional as well as non-traditional for women.

B. OBJECTIVE

The objective of this thesis is twofold:

1. To describe and analyze culture linked typing, intergroup/interpersonal dynamics, and organizational structure and climate;

2. To describe implications of their interplay on policy and performance in the gender-integrated military work environment.

It is postulated that traditional notions of appropriate sex-role contingencies have served as a primary impetus for the socialization and utilization of male and female personnel resources. Recognition and consideration of the complexity and implications or related interpersonal/intergroup dynamics is a critical requirement for managing the optimal utilization of both military men and women.

C. METHODOLOGY

Research for this study was accomplished primarily by means of a literature study of existing observations and research. Additional background materials were obtained from documented congressional hearings, military journals, and other periodicals and published bibliographies. This study

also utilized transcripts of interviews conducted for U.S. Navy sponsored research on military managers of heterogeneous workgroups. Incidents cited from interviews will be from that resource base, unless otherwise indicated.

This information was reviewed and key factors related to personal/group identity and interpersonal dynamics in the military environment were isolated. These factors were assessed and analyzed for implications relevant to the military manager/policy maker.

D. CAVEAT

Several of the direct quotes cited in this study use masculine nouns, pronouns and possessive adjectives generically to represent people in general. In line with the focus of this thesis, the author has recognized the academic relevance of these sources, without subscribing to such use as appropriate for generic representation.

E. THESIS ORGANIZATION

Chapter II describes the concept of non-conscious sex-role ideology and examines its impact and manifestations in mainstream American (U.S. society). Focus are on institutional and personal manifestations.

Chapter III is an examination of the dynamics of non-conscious sex-role ideology in the context of the U.S. military environment. It begins with an overview of women's participation in the U.S. military; and focuses on the impact that sex-role ideology has historically had on that participation.

Chapter IV consists of an analysis of and speculation upon interpersonal and organizational implications that ideological constructs have on the optimal utilization of servicewomen in the U.S. military.

II. NON-CONSCIOUS IDEOLOGY: THE CULTURAL CONTEXT

A. INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores the general nature, manifestations and implications of America's non-conscious sex-role ideology. It begins with an overview of the cultural context and nature of ideologies in general; and concludes with a description of America's non-conscious sex-role ideology.

B. THE CONTEXT OF IDEOLOGY: CULTURE

1. General

A critical referent of those who engage in the study of people and their interactions/motivations is "culture". Yet any attempt to formulate or select an operational definition of "culture" yields some consciousness of what has been described as the "omnibus" nature of the concept [Ref. 5: p. 3]. Clyde Kluckhohn devoted 27 pages of his book Mirror for Man to the term "culture" and comprehensively defined culture as:

1. "the total way of life of a people."
2. "the social legacy the individual acquires from his group."
3. "a way of thinking, feeling, and believing."
4. "an abstraction from behavior."
5. a theory on the part of the anthropologist about the way in which a group of people in fact behave.
6. a "storehouse of pooled learning"

7. "a set of standardized orientations to recurrent problems"

8. "learned behavior"

9. a mechanism for the normative regulation of behavior

10. "a set of techniques for adjusting both to the external environment and to other men"

11. "a precipitate of history"

12. a map/a sieve/a matrix

[Ref. 6]

Kluckhohn's approach serves as an empirical indication that with any consideration of culture and cultural phenomenon, attention must be placed on the conceptual or the oretical foci of the observer or investigator. The implications of conclusions resulting from such a consideration may be as much a function of cultural context as it is of empirical observations. For example, in some cultural environments an individual may show deference to an authority figure by avoiding eye contact with that person. That same behavior may be seen in a very different light in the traditional military environment. Considerations of behaviors "in context" are the concerns of anthropologists who routinely study the various aspects of culture (Reiter, Hatch, Kaplan/Manners, Levi Straus). This, too, is a relevant concern for the manager or policy-maker who may at times be required to make inferences based upon information related to observable social situations and interactions.

2. The Nature of Culture

The basis of these concerns appears to be rooted in the very nature of culture and culture's influence on behavior and perceptions. E. T. Hall describes culture's pervasive and subtle impact:

> "...what gives man his identity, no matter where he is born--is his culture, the total communication framework: words, actions, postures, tones of voice, facial expressions, the way he handles time, space, materials, and the way he works, plays, makes love, and defends himself. All these things are complete communications systems with meanings that can be read correctly only if one is familiar with the behavior in its historical, social, and cultural context." [Ref. 7: p. 37]

> "Everything man is and does is modified by learning and is therefore malleable. But once learned, these behavior patterns, these habitual responses, these ways of interacting gradually sink below the surface of the mind and, like the admiral of a submerged submarine fleet, control from the depths. The hidden controls are usually experienced as though they were innate simply because they are not only ubiquitous but habitual as well." [Ref. 7: p. 37]

Hall gives additional indications of those mechanisms of culture that help to support and reinforce its definitions and structures as "natural"; as unquestioned "givens":

> "What makes it doubly hard to differentiate the innate from the acquired is the fact that, as people grow up, everyone around them shares the same patterns....In fact, according to Powers, man's nervous system is structured in such a way that patterns that govern behavior and perception come into consciousness only when there is a deviation from plan. That is why the most important paradigms or rules governing behavior, the ones that control our lives, function below the level of conscious awareness and are not generally available for analysis....The cultural unconscious, like Freud's unconscious, not only controls man's actions, but can be understood only by painstaking processes of detailed analysis." [Ref. 7: pp. 37,38]

Consistent with that observation, and given the subtle, pervasive and often non-conscious nature of culture's influence, it will be beneficial to utilize relevant anthropological constructs to help make the nature of culture more explicit. One such construct is the motion of culture being characterized by subsystems. Subsystems can be viewed as distinctive aspects of institutional behavior that can be analytically isolated and individually considered [Ref. 5: p. 89]. Viewing culture in this way not only helps to make the complexity of its subtle influences more explicit in general, it represents a model that can be applied to the analysis of social dynamics in a specified organizational framework such as the military workplace.

3. Cultural Subsystems

The four major subsystems of culture as considered in this study are: (1) social structure, (2) technoeconomics, (3) personality, and (4) ideology. Although these subsystems will be considered individually, it is important to recognize that their influences upon the total culture are interwoven. These subsystems interact in a continual and dialectic interplay--each responding to and resisting change--all serving the culture's need to both maintain itself and to adapt to its changing environment [Ref. 5: p. 101]. The individual subsystems can be defined or described in the following ways:

a. Social Structure

The subsystem of Social Structure can be viewed as:

> "the continuing arrangement of persons in relationships defined or controlled by institutions; i.e., socially established norms and patterns of behaviors." [Ref. 5: p. 101]

Included in the realm of social structure are such pertinent factors as role behaviors and role relationships [Ref. 5: p. 102].

b. Technoeconomics

Technoeconomics consists of the tools and machinery of the culture, the knowledge that makes them possible, and the ways that they are organized for use by key players [Ref. 5: p. 91]. It can be deduced, given this description of technoeconomics, that its interplay with the social structure is intimate; that it serves both as a basis for role definition and, in instances where it drives cultural change, as an impetus for role redefinitions.

c. Personality

The definition of personality, like that of culture, takes on omnibus considerations depending upon the underlying assumptions of those who describe it [Ref. 8: p. 17]. Of relevance here are considerations of personality in both its social and its psychobiological dimensions [Ref. 5: p. 89]. Personality in its social dimension can be viewed as consisting of those motivations the individual has to act

in socially appropriate ways and to perform socially necessary jobs [Ref. 5: p. 242]. This is the notion underlying the concept of national character; or those similarities in personality characteristics that can be observed in most people of the same culture or society [Ref. 8: p. 13].

Personality viewed in its psychobiological dimensions reflects the more common focus on characteristics unique to the individual:

> "Personality is a more or less enduring organization of forces within the individual associated with a complex of fairly consistent attitudes, values and modes of perception which account, in part, for the individual's consistencies in behavior." [Ref. 8: p. 8]

Thus, considering personality in both social and psychobiological dimensions:

> "Personality is the sum-total of all the biological innate dispositions, impulses, tendencies, appetitues and instincts of the individual, and the acquired dispositions and tendencies--acquired by experience." (emphasis added) [Ref. 9: p. 532; cited in Ref. 8: p. 6]

Thus, observations and inferences related to an individual's consistencies in behavior might appropriately be considered in the context of culturally defined as well as biologically innate dimensions. Yet, as will be proposed below, attributions for behaviors are not so easily made.

d. Ideology

The term ideology has taken on numerous connotations over the years. It was first coined to mean "the science of ideas". But modern usages of the term often imply that ideas characterized as ideologies are partisan rather than

objective [Ref. 5: pp. 112-113]. However, a more neutral view of ideology will suffice. The subsystem of ideology will be described as:

> "The ideational realm of a culture....the values, norms, knowledge, themes, philosophies and religious beliefs, sentiments, ethical principles, world-views, ethos, and the like." [Ref. 5: p. 112]

"Ideology" can also be viewed in a more restrictive dimension:

> "...any set of ideas that explain or legitimate social arrangements, structures of power, or ways of life in terms of the goals, interests, or social position of the groups or social collectivities in which they appear." [Ref. 10: p. 52]

As these descriptions indicate the basis of the subsystem of ideology, like that of ideologies in general, reflect on intangible, subjective realities. Therefore, given the subjective nature of ideology, its existence and influence in dictating behavior must be inferred from what people say, how people interact in various situations [Ref. 5: p. 115], and from written sources (Huber and Form). Inferential conclusions based upon such observations must then be made with caution, since behaviors and attitudes are not always consistent. That is, behaviors motivated by innate, predisposed dispositions of the individual may be indistinguishable from those behaviors generated from attitudes shaped by ideational cultural definitions.

Melford Spiro has distinguished five levels of ideological learning which further explain the difficulties

in attributing either innate or ideological causation to behavior:

Level 1: either through formal instruction or informally an actor has learned about some aspect of the culture's ideology

Level 2: actors understand and can use these learned constructs correctly in the appropriate social context

Level 3: understanding these constructs, the actors believe them to be true and valid

Level 4: the constructs have a certain cognitive salience in that they are used by actors as guides for structuring their social and natural worlds

Level 5: the constructs have been internalized by the actors so that not only do they serve as guides, but they also serve to initiate behavior

[Ref. 5: p. 118]

Thus, while observed behaviors might well be indicative of an individual's internalized ideological constructs, or innate, predisposed dispositions, those behavior might also be the result of the individual acting with an astuteness of what he or she views as the expectations/consequences of those behaviors in a given situation. That is, an individual acting from Spiro's level 2 might exhibit the same behavior as an individual acting from level 5. Yet ideological internalizations will not be the same. Thus, the nature of ideologies is such that they can drive congruence between their constructs and the social structures (patterns of behavior) of the cultures within which they

emerge. Such is the power of ideology....to mold and drive the social dimension of personality; to dictate what "ought" to be in terms of the social structure and to evoke "appropriate" response, even from those who may not fully support or who have yet to internalize or understand its dictates. Such is the nature of ideologies in general. Such is the nature of America's sex-role ideology.

4. Summary

We have described the omnibus nature of culture; often subtle, yet always pervasive in terms of its impact on the individual. We have described the evolving nature of culture; reinforcing, shaping and maintaining itself through its technoeconomic and social structure; impacting through ideology upon the individual and collective personalities of its members. We have described the persistent nature of culture; dictating its continuity through known, often indescribable traditions; through conscious and sometimes subconscious patterns of thought. We have described the mandating nature of culture; its dictates firmly rooted in value-based, strongly held ideological notions of what "ought to be." Culture--all subsystems interacting dialectically with each other--shaped by and shaping ongoing experiences. This, then, is the nature of culture: subtle, reinforcing, pervasive, dictating, defining, taken for granted. Such is the nature of culture. Such is the context of America's sex role ideology.

C. THE NATURE OF AMERICA'S SEX-ROLE IDEOLOGY

Of course, America's sex-role ideology did not emerge spontaneously. Its roots can be traced to origin civilizations and cultures. Tracing or speculating those origins is beyond the scope of this paper. Suffice it to say, its origins were culture linked, and its manifestations institutionalized in the lifestyles of the culture's component personalities.

In the America of colonial times, home was the place where most people made a living. Only 16% of the American labor force was employed in manufacturing and construction. Men, women, and children worked together; primarily where they lived [Ref. 11: p. 5]. Yet even during this time the enduring notion of the woman as subservient was readily observable in the colonies [Ref. 12: p. 16]. It can be inferred from its reflection in domestic laws and its manifestations in family relationships where wives and children were acknowledged and treated as subordinates, even though the differentiated roles of both husband and wife contained both domestic and economic (provider) functions [Ref. 11: p. 5]. Male and female role differentiations became more pronounced with the advent of industrialization which brought major changes to the technoeconomic and social structures of American society. Such changes were reflected in a shift from a rural family centered lifestyle to an urban orientation as economically productive activities moved from the home to the factory and

individuals moved from farms to cities [Ref. 11: p. 10]. The role of the husband shifted to that of provider of a monetary income earned away from home [Ref. 11: p. 9]. His economic role increased in relationship to his domestic role. His success was measured, in part, by whether he has a home away from his business; and whether his wife and children had to work [Ref. 11: p. 10]. Given these developments, over time, the domestic functions of housewives lost their economic meanings. In a society where identity was closely tied to economic occupation, and occupation was the primary basis of placement in the social structure, it followed that her identity and domestic contributions became regarded as secondary. Reflections of innatism were reinforced as her husband's occupation was viewed as the primary basis of his and her social placement [Ref. 11: p. 15]. Her role as domestic and his as economic provider outside the home was reinforced as normative and desirable; a reflection of the culture's social personality.

Then, as now, the realities of economic survival sometimes countered adherence to normative role definitions. Oftentimes women (and children) in poor families worked alongside the males in mills and factories; virtually exploited as laborers until laws at the end of the 1800's addressed the terms of their utilization [Ref. 13: p. 115]. Still the manifestations of internalized role norms (the social personality) were evident. Unlike the gradual separation of the

male's domestic and economic roles, the abrupt transition from domestic to economic roles for women raised, in some women, the issue of role contradiction--especially for the working mother [Ref. 11: p. 18]. Still, women, married and single, entered domestic service as cooks or maids; or as workers in the early garment industry sweat shops. As industry developed, jobs available for women were at the lowest levels--usually factory areas where manual dexterity was viewed as more important than strength; and in the areas of clerical, sales and laundry work [Ref. 11: p. 18]. If a working wife, particularly a mother, worked for reasons other than a disabled or incapacitated husband, she was viewed with scorn, a "deviant" in terms of the culture's dictates or normative role expectations. The absence of a male provider was the primary reason women worked outside the home. But twenty years later, economic necessity became the driving force [Ref. 11: p. 20]. Even given these realities, the social structure and social personality supported the ideological notion of the home as the woman's appropriate place. That notion persists, even though dramatic changes in the social structure have taken place and 50 percent of the labor force is now comprised of women [Ref. 14: p. 2]. Its reflection in the social personality is manifested at all levels:

JAMES CAAN
Actor

I believe that the husband should be the head of the household, that he should be the boss....I know it's nonsense to believe that a woman doesn't have the same natural instincts and shouldn't have the same rights as a man, but that's the way I was brought up, and I can't seem to get past it. I really believe that, if she's married, a woman's place is in the home--at least until the kids are grown. Gloria Steinem (feminist) can lead a march to my house with torches, but 70 percent of the women I know agree with me. [Ref. 15: p. 558]

BARRY M. GOLDWATER
United States Senator, R-Arizona

(on the woman's movement): Which movement? I love every little movement a woman has....I don't mind what a woman does as long as she's home in time to cook dinner. [Ref. 15: p. 560]

Procedure: Provide some paper and pencil for each member of the family. Younger children could have their "lists" made for them by parents or older brothers and sisters.

List first the areas from each family member where he or she has total control over the decisions in his life. Dad might list such things as where he will work, accepting or refusing promotions and job changes, what to wear to work, what his hobbies will be, etc. Mom might list how to have her hair styled, what clothes to buy, what to cook for dinner, etc. A child might list how to decorate his or her room, how long to wear his hair, what clothes to wear to school, who his or her friends will be, whether or not to play a school sport this year.

Excerpt from Family Time, published by the Family Communication Committee submitted by Elaine Christiansen, Delran, N.J. [Ref. 16: p. 91]

But the issue of the sex-role ideology is more complex than just the notion of the man's place as achiever in the economic sector and the woman's place as nurturer in marriage and domestic functions. Implied is an underlying and often subtle assumption of the human female's inherent inferiority

to the human male. Research findings have tended to indicate that this assumption is widespread in American culture. One popular study, by Broverman (cited by Walum), was conducted utilizing a number of mental health clinicians. The clinicians, both male and female, were divided into three groups with three different tasks. Each group was provided with a checklist of items (poles) representing behavioral traits previously determined to be stereotypically associated with gender, and differentially evaluated as to desirability (see Table I). The first group was asked to indicate, for each item, the pole toward which a normal, healthy, mature, and competent man would tend. The second group was told to do the same, but for a normal, healthy, mature, and competent woman. The third group was to indicate the pole most descriptive of a mature, competent, healthy adult (sex unspecified). Walum cites the outcomes:

1. There were not statistically significant differences in judgement between male and female clinicians.

2. There was substantial agreement as to what constituted a healthy male, a healthy female, and a healthy adult.

3. There was agreement that the socially desirable items were those to be found in a healthy mature adult.

4. The clinicians shared societal consensus about sex-role stereotypes and social desirability.

5. Male-valued stereotypic items were more often ascribed to healthy males than to females.

6. Females were associated with characteristics viewed as negative in American culture: submissive, easily influenced, subjective, excitable in a crisis.

7. The mature adult was seen to be equivalent in personality structure to the mature man. Maturity for a woman was seen to be different from that of an adult.

[Ref. 17: p. 8]

TABLE I

CLINICAL JUDGEMENTS OF MENTAL HEALTH*

Competency Cluster: Masculine pole is judged more socially desirable	
Feminine Pole	Masculine Pole
Not at all aggressive	Very aggressive
Not at all independent	Very independent
Very emotional	Not at all emotional
Does not hide emotions at all	Almost always hides emotions
Very subjective	Very objective
Very easily influenced	Not at all easily influenced
Very submissive	Very dominant
Dislikes math and science very much	Likes math and science very much
Very excitable in a minor crisis	Not at all excitable in a minor crisis
Very passive	Very active
Not at all competitive	Very competitive
Very illogical	Very logical
Very home-oriented	Very worldly
Not at all skilled in business	Very skilled in business
Very sneaky	Very direct
Does not know the way of world	Knows the way of the world
Feelings hurt easily	Feelings not hurt easily
Not at all adventurous	Very adventurous
Has difficulty making decisions	Can make decisions easily
Cries very easily	Never cries
Almost never acts as a leader	Almost always acts as a leader
Not at all self-confident	Very self-confident
Very uncomfortable about being aggressive	Not at all uncomfortable about being aggressive
Not at all ambitious	Very ambitious
Unable to separate feelings from ideas	Easily able to separate feelings from ideas
Very dependent	Not at all dependent
Very conceited about appearance	Never conceited about appearance

TABLE I CONTD.

Warm-expressiveness Cluster:	Feminine Pole is judged more socially desirable
Feminine Pole	Masculine Pole
Very talkative	Not at all talkative
Very tactful	Very blunt
Very gentle	Very rough
Very aware of feelings of others	Not at all aware of feelings of others
Very religious	Not at all religious
Very interested in own appearance	Not at all interested in own appearance
Very neat in habits	Very sloppy in habits
Very quiet	Very loud
Very strong need for security	Very little need for security
Enjoys art and literature very much	Does not enjoy art and literature at all
Easily expresses tender feelings	Does not express tender feelings at all

*Adapted from Broverman et al., 1970. [Ref. 17: p. 9]

The descriptions of a "healthy man" looked like those of a "healthy adult". Descriptions of a "healthy woman" differed from those of a "healthy man" and a "healthy adult".

The normal "healthy competent woman" was described with items that are not considered positive or achievement conducive in U.S. society [Ref. 17: p. 18]. It is here that basic American ideological inconsistencies occur. The normative notion that all people are to be treated equally is central to American culture. Normative, too, is the belief in the

rights and responsibilities of the individual to contribute, compete, excel and succeed in society.

Given societal descriptions of what are regarded and socialized as natural, and appropriate (normative) personality traits for men and women, it appears that society is implicitly preparing women to be people who are not achievers and competitors [Ref. 17: p. 12]. The woman is, in effect, programmed to serve in supportive roles, as an intervening variable between the aspirations and ultimate success of males [Ref. 18: p. 156]. Walum describes the subtle, non-conscious, pervasive insinuations underlying the enigma for men and women who have internalized these conflicting ideological constructs of the social personality:

> ...To grow up learning on one hand what the dominant culture's values are and, on the other, that activities based on those values are taboo can only create in women a feeling of lesser worth, lesser value. To be asked to assume personality traits that culture does not value highly is to be asked to see yourself as second-rate, incapable of achievement, and permanently blighted.
>
> The consequences for the male are equally difficult. Whether he wants to or not, he is impelled to live up to society's expectations, or suffer guilt and withdrawal. To the extent he has bought the American ideal, he has to measure himself against it. If he fails to act gentlemanly or get a raise or support his family, his sense of masculinity is on the line. The sexual impotence that frequently follows the loss of job or the failure of an exam tells him in the clearest of somatic terms that he is not a man.
>
> Implicit in the previous paragraphs is another value that must be made explicit: patriarchalism (also referred to as sexism and male chauvinism), or the belief in the superiority of the male. This value, although consistent with other American values, is not peculiar to

American society. Rather, all industrialized societies--socialist, capitalist, democratic, and authoritarian--share this belief. Patriarchalism is to culture like a rhythm section in a band. Sometimes it overrides the melodic theme and sometimes it is hushed--but it is always there. When we have been listening to a band for hours and hours, we lose awareness of the rhythm as distinct from the totality of the music. Similarly, the principle of male superiority after hundreds of years has become so embedded in the culture that we unconsciously behave and think in ways that perpetuate it.

How is it that persons learn so thoroughly the values of the culture that they unquestionably consider them to be natural? They do so through a process called socialization. [Ref. 17: pp. 11, 12]

The non-conscious implications of the sex-role ideology become more explicit. Sandra and Daryl Bem allude to the non-conscious nature of the sex-role ideology in American society:

"...it has been obscured by an equalitarian veneer, and the ideology is now become non-conscious. That is, we remain unaware of it because alternative beliefs about women go unimagined. We are like the fish who is unaware that his environment is wet. After all, what else could it be? Such is the nature of America's ideology about women. For even those Americans who agree that a black skin should not uniquely qualify its owner for janitorial or domestic service, continue to act as if the possession of a uterus uniquely qualifies its owner for precisely that." [Ref. 19: p. 1970]

The Bems offer illustration of the subtle nature of the non-conscious sex-role ideology as characterized in this passage:

Both my wife and I earned Ph.D. degrees in our respective disciplines. I turned down a superior academic post in Oregon and accepted a slightly less desirable position in New York where my wife could obtain a part-time teaching job and do research at one of the several other colleges in the area. Although I would have preferred to live in a suburb, we bought a home near my wife's

college so that she could have an office at home where she would be when the children returned from school. Because my wife earns a good salary, she can easily afford to pay a maid to do her major household chores. My wife and I share all other tasks around the house equally. For example, she cooks the meals, but I do the laundry for her and help her with many of her other household tasks. [Ref. 19]

The Bems offer the test of whether the unseen assumptions of the "woman's place" have been eliminated from this marriage. If the marriage is equal in terms of roles, then reversing the roles of the spouses should not change the general tone of the previous passage:

Both my husband and I earned Ph.D. degrees in our respective disciplines. I turned down a superior academic post in Oregon and accepted a slightly less desirable position in New York where my husband could obtain a part-time teaching job and do research at one of the several other colleges in the area. Although I would have preferred to live in a suburb, we bought a home near my husband's college so that he could have an office at home where he would be when the children returned from school. Because my husband earns a good salary, he can easily afford to pay a maid to do his major household chores. My husband and I share all other tasks around the house equally. For example, he cooks the meals, but I do the laundry for him and help him with many of his other household tasks.

As is observable, the tone is noticeably different. The non-conscious ideology of man and woman's "proper places" is so pervasive that it can even permeate a relationship where individuals consciously strive to eliminate assumptions of the ideology. In the words of the Bems: such is the pervasiveness and power of the ideology. It has been internalized by both males and females. Its assumptions have been passed on to the social personality and internalized as unchallenged "givens" through the process or socialization.

D. MANIFESTATIONS OF AMERICA'S SEX-ROLE IDEOLOGY

The underlying assumptions of this ideology are manifested throughout the social structure of American society. They have been reflected in domestic laws such as those concerning property rights, domiciles, responsibilities for support in marriage and divorce, income taxes, social security, and child custody. As it is indicated below, general assumptions in these areas have been that the man is the provider and the woman the home maker.

> "The income security programs of this nation were designed for a land of male and female stereotypes, a land where all men were bread-winners and all women were wives or widows; where men provided necessary income for their families but women did not; in other words, where all of the men supported all of the women... This view of the world never matched reality, but today it is further than ever from the truth." [Ref. 20: p. 35]
>
> Former Representative
> Martha Griffiths
> February 1974

Also reflected in laws and opinions based on the law, is the corresponding notion that children belong with the mother--that the mother is better for the children than the father. She is often awarded custody on the grounds that it is the "best interest of the child." Oftentimes, she must be proven unfit for it to be otherwise [Ref. 17: pp. 107-109]. The internalization of such notions has been made more explicit through the process or focused analysis:

> "Typical of the constant association of mothers and children, three provisions in title 42 contain the phrase

"children of working mothers" when the intended reference is to children with no parent in the home during working hours." [Ref. 20: p. 213]

The ideology is reflected in the stated tennants of one of culture's most powerful and deeply entrenched influences--religion:

"...Blessed art thou, oh Lord our God, King of the Universe; that I was not born a woman."

Daily Orthodox Jewish Prayer for men

"Men are superior to women on account of the qualities in which God has given them preeminence."

The KORAN (Sacred text of Islam)

"For a man...is the image and glory of God; but the woman is the glory of the man. Neither was the man created for the man, but the woman for the man."

(I Corinthians, II)

In the Judeo-Christian tradition which is predominant in American culture, alternative images of male/female interactions are presented--supporting non-stereotyped ideas about the roles and personalities of men and women [Ref. 17: pp. 126-135]. Yet the most popular image taught is the creation story interpreted to mean that woman was made after man to serve man [Ref. 17: p. 127]. The impact is significant, for religious doctrines are internalized by individuals at a young age.

The ideology is reflected in the media, where television's portrayal of woman in the labor force would suggest a 20 percent participation rate [Ref. 21: p. 253]. In actuality,

the U.S. labor force is 50 percent women [Ref. 14: p. 2]. The ideology is reflected in the media where two men are shown for every one woman shown, when females comprise 51 percent of the U.S. population; where a majority of prime time drama characters and comedy characters are male [Ref. 21: p. 251]; where 80 percent of those portrayed as employed are male [Ref. 21: p. 253]; where most women are portrayed as married, engaged or previously married while most males are portrayed as single (never having been married); and working women are likely to be portrayed as less competent than men at their jobs, especially when a man in the same show holds the same type of job. "Pepper", of Policewoman fame, was indicative of this type of characterization [Ref. 21: p. 253].

The ideology is reflected in textbooks and sex-segregated school programs (home economics versus shop courses), and school counselling sessions where males and females are portrayed in or encouraged towards culturally stereotyped "appropriate" roles [Ref. 17: p. 56].

It is reflected in women's magazines and newspapers where research indicates that emphasis has been on the appropriateness of the traditional homemaking career for women [Ref. 21: pp. 257-260]. It is reflected in printed imagery and the written and spoken language where masculine forms are used generically to represent people in general. (See Appendix A).

The impact of the mass media's portrayal of men and women can have impact on the social structure and social dimension of personality in several ways. It can facilitate the underemployment of women by identifying women workers with low-paying traditionally female jobs [Ref. 21: p. 261]. It can impact on individuals by reflecting and thus reinforcing sex-role stereotypes as role models. Laboratory studies have shown that children prefer to watch programs featuring actors of their own sex and tend to watch members of their own sex more closely [Ref. 21: p. 263]. Consistent with Spiro's levels 1 and 2, and according to Sprafkin and Liebert, such behavior probably involves learning, because according to psychological theories, children prefer to expose.

> "...Themselves to same-sex models as an information-seeking strategy; children are presumed to attend to same-sex peers because they already sense that much social reinforcement is sex-typed, and want to discover the contingencies that apply to their own gender." [Ref. 21: p. 263]

Perhaps the most important consequence of socialization's impact in this regard is that it perpetuates an ideology that still impacts on the social structure and social dimension of personality, but is more consistent with the context of a social structure of the past. In that sense, it shapes behaviors and expectations that are often in conflict with those required by the rapidly changing technoeconomic and social structures of the present.

It is so subtle--so taken for granted, that its reinforcing impact often goes unnoticed--and therefore often goes unchallenged. (See Figures 1 through 5). Its reflections are ubiquitous--manifested in every major institution of the social structure--including the military organization. Manifestations of its impact can be inferred from the general form of masculine focus that has traditionally characterized the American social structure.

E. THE CONTEXT OF AMERICA'S SEX-ROLE IDEOLOGY: CULTURAL CHANGE AND PERSISTENCE

As has been described, firmly entrenched ideological constructs dictating appropriate sex-role behaviors have been institutionalized in the social structure of American society. These ideological constructs are pervasive and persistent; perpetuated through the process of socialization and internalized as part of the nation's collective social personality.

In general, the ideology defines the woman's appropriate orientation as domestic and supportive. It defines the man as appropriately achievement oriented; his functions those of protector, provider, and leader. The strength of the ideology is such that one must adhere to its behavioral dictates to be seen as "normal". The impacts are manifest in issues of performance expectations, identity, policy, law and views of individual and group efficacy.

The cultural context of the ideology reflects rapid and complex social and technological changes. These changes have fostered numerous redefinations in the culture's social structure. Many of the technological changes have made traditionally emphasized physical strength differences between the sexes less important to job or task performance. Heightened social consciousness, spawned in the context of America's egalatarian ethic, have resulted in consideration and pursuit of new role alternatives that challenge traditional ideological sex role constructs. (See Figures 6 and 7). The accompanying dialectic influences of cultural response is often reflected in conflict. This conflict results from the influences of flux and persistence; new alternatives and old ideology; responsiveness to change and resistence to change. So it is with mainstream American culture. So it is with that culture's military microcosms.

left for the rest of the year."

Role playing. With its ad agency, Trevira decided to produce the daily half-hour TV show featuring its resident psychologist, Dr. Brothers. Rather than have her expound daily on psychological factors that affect buying decisions, TV producer Ed Pierce put together a "talk show" that lets the psychologist appear in her less forbidding roles as housewife, mother, and just female.

The program features guests from

from *Business Week;* submitted by Andrea Sweeny and Phyllis Otto, Washington, D.C.

Source: MS Magazine, 11/73, p. 105.

DE LIGHT FUL DE DUCTION

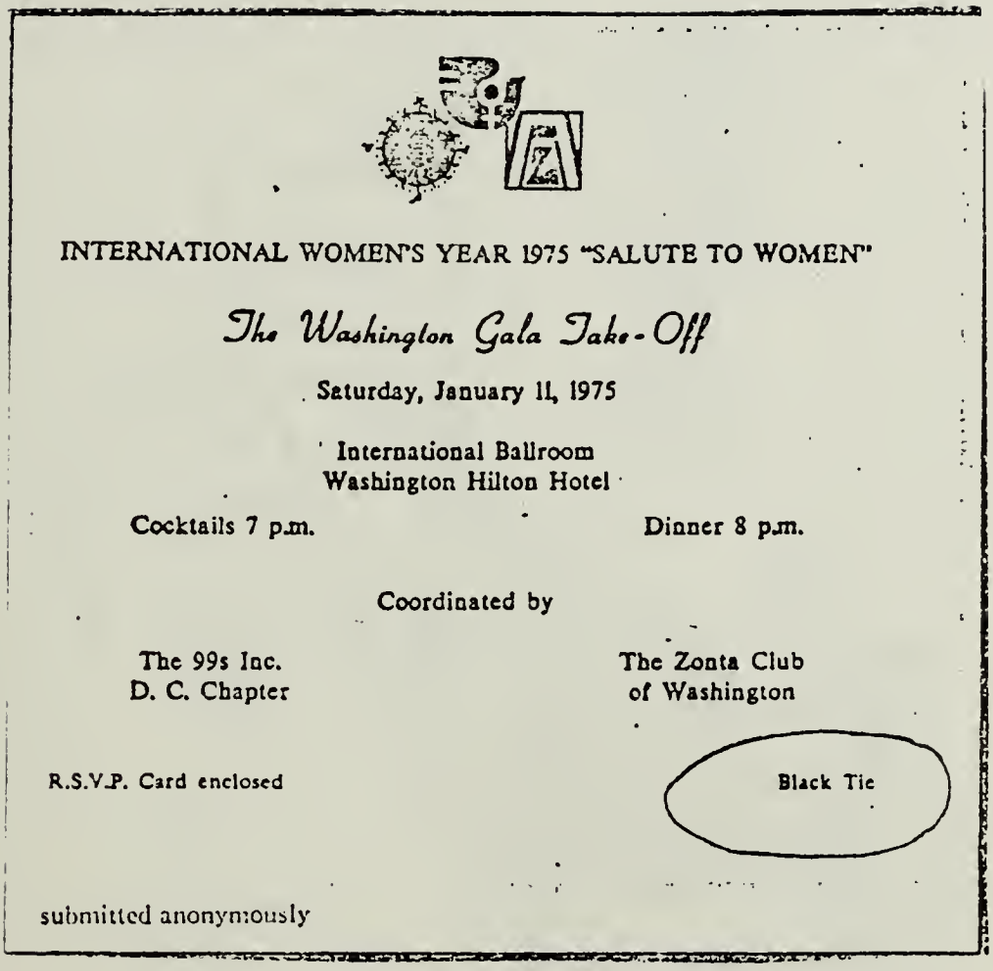
Certainly, next to the phrase, "it's a boy!" the most beautiful phrase in the English language is, "it's deductible!" Two recent cases show some of the factors a court will consider in determining if the interest on a policy loan is deductible.

Here are some of the questions the [illegible] asked:

article appearing in a newsletter distributed by a life insurance company, submitted by Terry Casey, Dallas, Tex.

Source: MS Magazine, 7/78, p. 101.

Figure 1



INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR 1975 "SALUTE TO WOMEN"

The Washington Gala Take-Off

Saturday, January 11, 1975

International Ballroom
Washington Hilton Hotel

Cocktails 7 p.m. Dinner 8 p.m.

Coordinated by

The 99s Inc.
D. C. Chapter

The Zonta Club
of Washington

R.S.V.P. Card enclosed

Black Tie

submitted anonymously

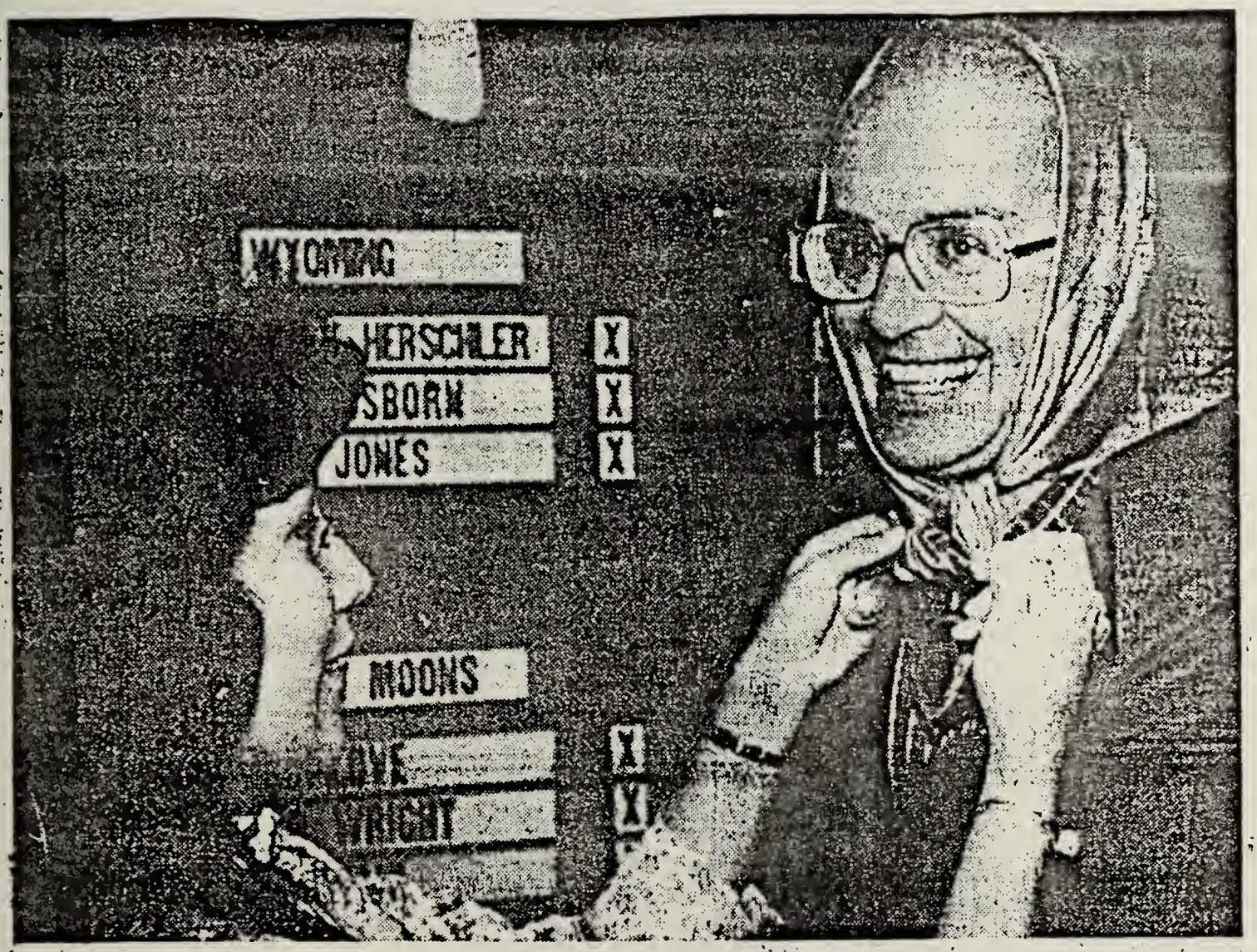
Source: MS Magazine, 9/75, p. 6.

Figure 1 Contd.

HEY TIGER! YOU GOTTA KNOW TO BE A PRO!
CONNIE
OPERATORS WITH KNOW-HOW GET THE MOST FROM THEIR EQUIPMENT
from Department of the Army Poster 750-20, submitted by Esther Workman, Edmonds, Wash.

Figure 2

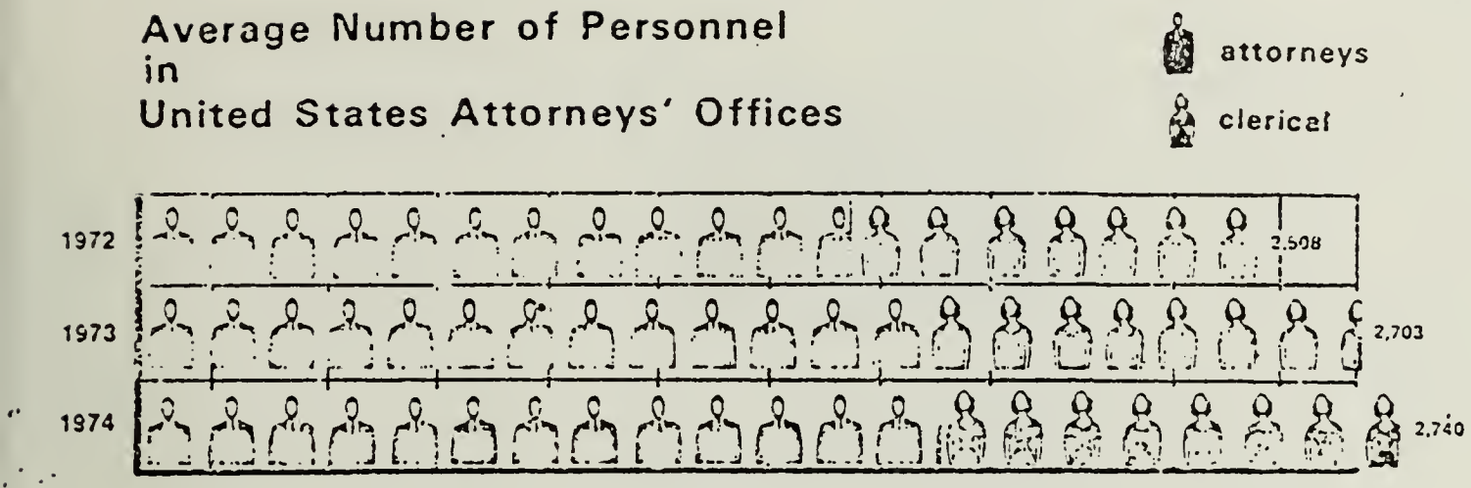
Source: MS Magazine, April 1974, p. 97.



WATT AS A WOMAN—Interior Secretary James Watt is dressed in women's clothes, a penalty which he had to pay when he missed his shot in the annual Lander, Wyoming, One-Shot Antelope Hunt Saturday. Successful shooters danced in the braves' dance. Those who missed, like Watt, joined in the squaw dance. —AP Photo.

Source: Honolulu Star Bulletin, 21 September 1982. (Cover page)

Figure 3



from a statistical report, Department of Justice, U.S. Attorneys Office, submitted by Doris Meissner, Chevy Chase, Md.

Source: MS Magazine, 2/76, p. 106.

You've come a long way Baby... don't stop now
We can help put you right at the top.
• SECRETARIES NEEDED
• BOOKKEEPERS NEEDED
• RECEPTIONISTS NEEDED
• 500 JOBS OPEN NOW!
See our offices listed in the "Yellow Pages." Or call collect:
(509) WA 4-7363
ACME PERSONNEL SERVICE, INC.
from TV Guide; submitted by Diane Brooks, Carmichael, Calif.

Source: MS Magazine, 11/73, p. 111.

Figure 4

• An HEW-funded program at UCLA studies boys aged 5 to 8 who show such signs of "feminine mannerisms" to develop "behavior . . . management in which subjects are given token rewards for displaying behavior appropriate to their gender."

from the Washington *Post*, submitted by Florence Jones, Columbia, Md.

Source: MS Magazine, 2/76, p. 103.

Contest announced for area students

The Agricultural Committee of Oxford Pomona Grange is inviting students of Oxford Hills and Telstar Regional High School to enter an Essay Contest.

Mrs. Frances Gunther of Telstar and Miss Tubbs of Oxford Hills will assist with the contest. Boys are to write an essay on "Why I would (or wouldn't) like to farm for a livelihood." The girls are to write an essay on "Why I would (or wouldn't) like to be a farmer's wife".

Essays may be submitted to Fred Judkins at Upton. Deadline is April 15. Winners will be guests of Oxford Pomona Grange at West Paris on May 6 at a 6:30 p.m. supper and take part in program following the supper.

Essays will be limited to 250 words.

from the *Advertiser-Democrat*, submitted by Barbara Taylor, West Paris, Maine.

Source: MS Magazine, 2/76, p. 103.

Figure 4 Contd.

UNITED STATES POWER SQUADRONS

The United States Power Squadrons and its Districts are a private, self supporting, non-profit, nation-wide fraternity of boatmen, and each local Squadron is a private self-supporting, non profit boating club

In a partial furtherance of its objectives, and as a civic service, the United States Power Squadrons offer a Boating Course to the public free of any charge for instruction. These classes are sponsored and given by local Squadrons as a community service

The public Boating course is advertised, available, and given to all persons 12 years of age and older without regard to sex, race, creed, color, or nationality who desire to avail themselves of such free instruction.

Attending the public Boating Course, or taking or passing the examination therein, does not relate to eligibility for, or right to, membership in the United States Power Squadrons or a local Squadron.

Membership in a local Squadron, or in the United States Power Squadrons, is by invitation only to male U.S. citizens 18 years of age or older, and is subject to appropriate sponsorship and election at the discretion of the inviting Squadron.

This Folder issued to and is the property of —

Name _____

Address _____

flier distributed by the U.S. Power Squadron, submitted by Dolores Astringer, Ormond Beach, Fla.

Source: MS Magazine, 5/79, p. 76

You're looking at a $6-million deal stopped cold by a penny's worth of paper.
HAMMERMILL PAPERS.
Hammermill Paper. It makes copies, not trouble.

advertisement appearing in *Time*, submitted by Elvy O'Brien, Macomb, Ill., and 10 other readers

Source: MS Magazine, 11/82, p. 113

Personality Development

Pd 101W **Personality Development** **Two credits**

Personal training for women in practical psychology, skin care, makeup, hair styling, figure control, fashion, physical poise, conversation, etiquette, charm and self confidence. *One hour every two weeks; two semesters.*

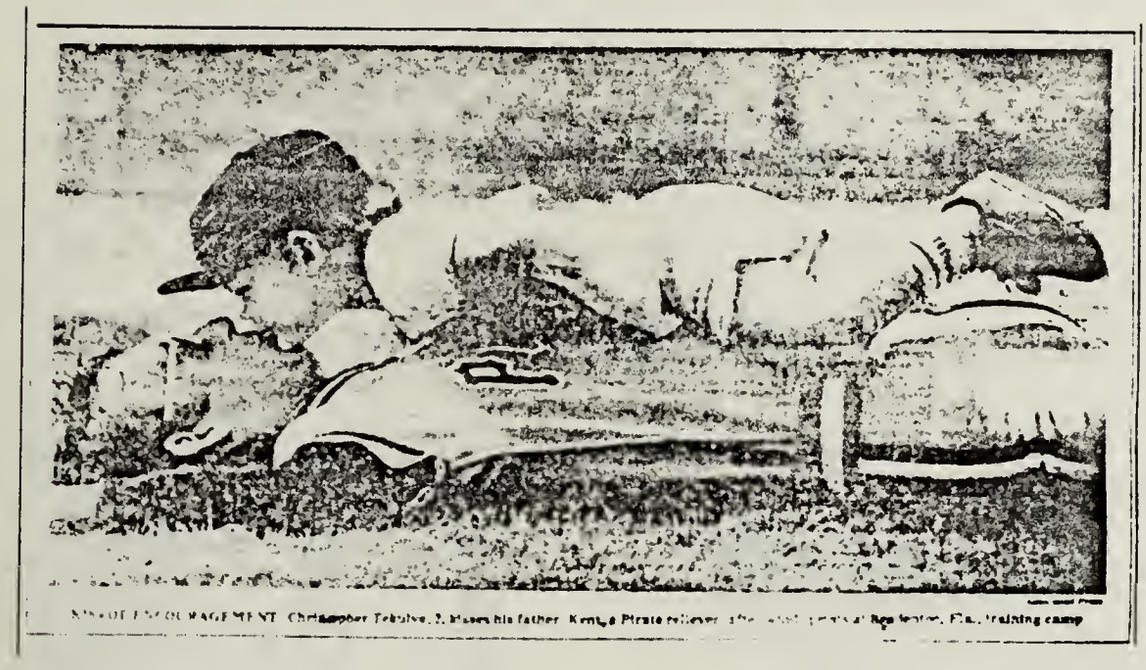
Pd 101M **Personality Development** **Two credits**

A course of study for men covering six vital areas for success in business: how to look like an executive, how to act like an executive, how to be more dynamic and persuasive, how to become self-confident, how to apply for and get the job you want, and how to make friends and avoid making enemies. *One hour every two weeks; two semesters.*

from the 1972-73 St. Joseph College catalog, submitted by Alice P. Hooper, Montpelier, Vt.

Source: MS Magazine, 12/74, p. 111.

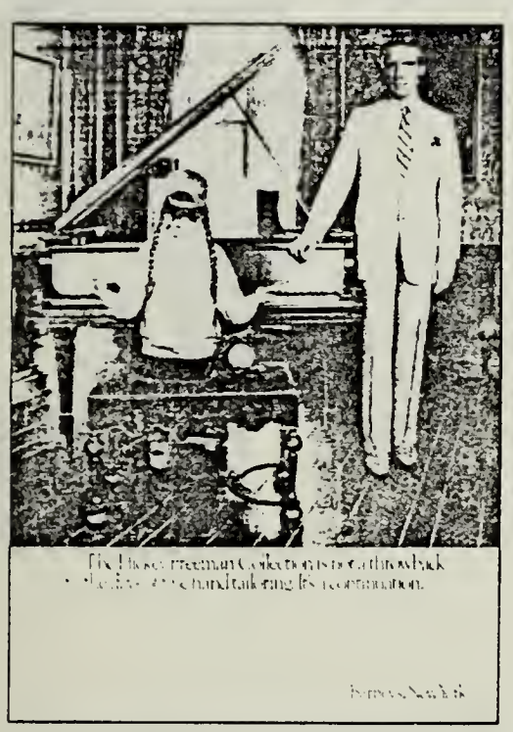
Figure 5



PUT STARS IN HER EYES
with a Questar, for it is a gift that will go on giving. If she is that rare child with a true curiosity, it will help her to discover the nature of things all her life. It will be her own personal contact with the universe, which she will have the excitement of seeing, from her very first glimpse through the finest of telescopes. Both optically and mechanically, Questar will respond rewardingly to her touch so that she will never know the frustration of an inferior tool. Questar's beauty and versatility will make it a cherished possession and an invaluable companion, whether her main interest becomes the study of the sun, moon, and planets, or an earth-oriented observing of nature close at hand. From her first-hand investigation will come an expanding awareness and continuing enjoyment. And its easy portability will permit her to take it with her wherever she travels.
To open to such a young mind that vast store of knowledge to which she may one day make her own contribution, will be your rare privilege.
QUESTAR

Source: MS Magazine, 12/80, p. 108.

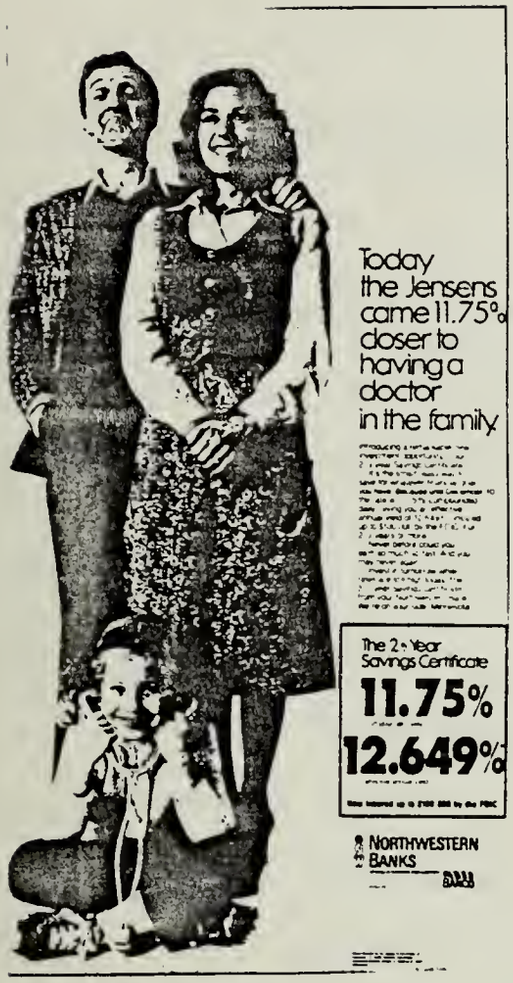
Figure 6

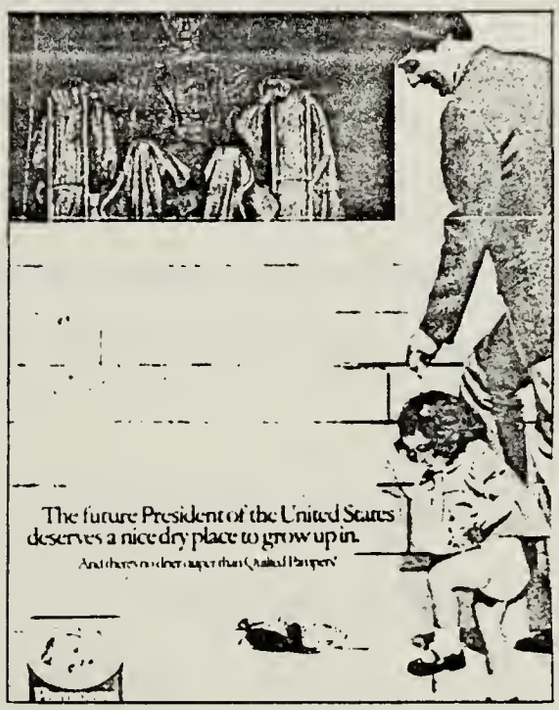


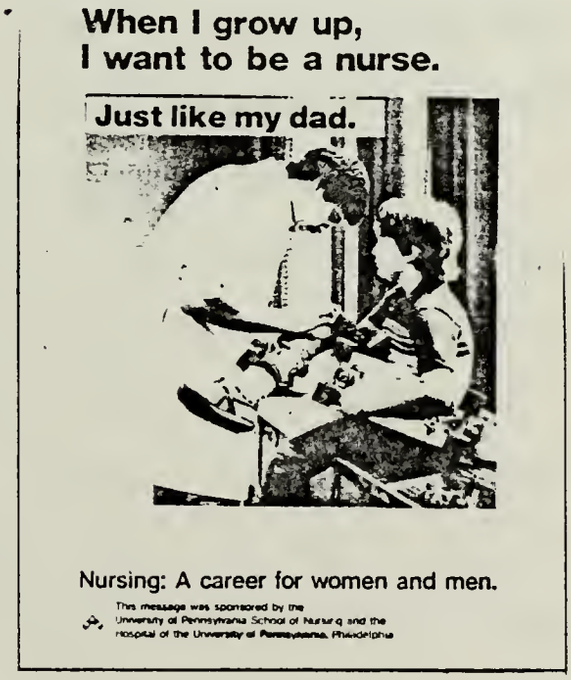
She earns $46,000.
He makes $33,000.
Who in this family should have the most life insurance?
New York Life. For all of your life.
NEW YORK LIFE
NEW YORK LIFE

Source: MS Magazine, 12/80, p. 108.

Figure 6 Contd.


Today the Jensens came 11.75% closer to having a doctor in the family.
The 2-Year Savings Certificate
11.75%
12.649%
NORTHWESTERN BANKS




When I grow up,
I want to be a nurse.
Just like my dad.
Nursing: A career for women and men.
This message was sponsored by the University of Pennsylvania School of Nursing and the Hospital of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

Source: MS Magazine, April 1981, p. 99.

Figure 7

III. NON-CONSCIOUS SEX-ROLE IDEOLOGY: THE MILITARY CONTEXT

A. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents an historical overview of women's participation in the U.S. military services, the impact that sex-role ideology has had on that participation.

B. WOMEN AND THE U.S. MILITARY

1. Pre-World War I

Although the military has been and remains virtually all male, women's participation with and in the U.S. military is not of recent occurrence. Women have served in formal and informal roles, alongside military men since the earliest days of the Union. Prior to WWI women's contributions were in informal domestic and formal nursing support roles. During the 1700's and 1800's the adult female members of a family, and sometimes the children, accompanied male family members as these men traveled with the Army. The Army permitted three to six of these women, per company, to draw rations in return for performing laundry, cooking and sewing services for the unit. Other women were provided a salary for performing these types of duties [Ref. 22: p. 4]. There are historical accounts of women, disguised as men, participating as combatants in the Revolutionary, Civil, and Spanish-American Wars [Ref. 3: p. 31]. However, the first

formal roles for women in the military were those related to nursing [Ref. 3: p. 33].

The catalyst for a significant social structure change, the development of military nursing, was linked to the technoeconomic advances of warfare. Incidences of war casualties soared as new weaponry replaced the less lethal muskets and pikes of earlier times [Ref. 3: p. 32]. Civilian nursing personnel and volunteers proved to be inefficient in meeting the requirements wrought by these technoeconomic changes. Such conditions were common during the Civil War period, and led to the development of a corps of 6000 women nurses to serve with the Union forces. When the crisis ended in 1865, traditional role norms were reinstated. The women nurses were released from service and enlisted men again provided patient care in Army hospitals [Ref. 22: p. 8]. However, the ideology had been challenged. Contributions of women nurses in the Civil and Spanish-American Wars were not forgotten. In 1901, a notable change to the social structure took place as the Nurse Corps was established as an auxiliary to the U.S. Army [Ref. 22: p. 9]. In 1908, the Navy Nurse Corps was formed [Ref. 23: p. 132]. But it was not until after World War I that nurses were granted military rank [Ref. 23: p. 132].

2. World War I

As the nation prepared for war, women migrated from the jobs traditionally classified "female" to the higher

paying jobs in shipyards, steel mills, and aircraft factories [Ref. 22: p. 11]. The result was a shortage in what had become virtually all female clerical skills areas. The civil service could not meet the growing government and military needs for skilled clerical personnel [Ref. 22: p. 12]. This situation was the impetus that motivated the formal utilization of military women in other than the nursing role [Ref. 24: p. 624].

a. American Expeditionary Forces (AEF)

The AEF entered WWI later than other allied forces. Consequently, it did not suffer the critical manpower shortages that plagued other allies [Ref. 3: p. 42]. The AER did, however, experience critical shortages of personnel skilled as administrators, office workers and telephone operators traditional "women's" jobs [Ref. 3: p. 42]. General John J. Pershing, Commander of the AEF, sent an urgent wire to the War Department requesting 100 uniformed women telephone operators bilingual in French and English [Ref. 3: p. 42]. He was sent contract civilian women and limited duty men [Ref. 22: p. 13]. General James Harbord, Commander of the Services of Supply in Europe, requested 5,000 military women as clerical workers to release men for front line combat duty. He received 5,000 unskilled limited duty males instead [Ref. 22: p. 13]. The United Kingdom volunteered members of its Women's Auxiliary Army Corps to help ease Pershing's shortage of skilled personnel [Ref. 22: p. 13]. Yet, despite pressures

from chiefs of the various Army branches, Secretary of War Newton D. Baker remained adamantly opposed to the idea of enlisting women other than nurses [Ref. 22: p. 14]. The Army Surgeon General, who desired to commission female doctors to fill critical vacancies, was advised that only those who were physically, morally, and mentally qualified could be appointed and that women were, of course, not physically qualified [Ref. 22: p. 14]. On the issue of employing women, the War Department was "not convinced of the desirability of such a radical departure in the conduct of military affairs" [Ref. 3: p. 43].

b. The U.S. Navy in World War I

Unlike the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy moved ahead with plans to utilize women to meet the anticipated clerical requirements of mobilization. Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels researched his options:

> "Is there any law that says a yeoman must be a man?" I asked my legal advisors. The answer was that there was not, but that only men had heretofore been enlisted. The law did not contain the restrictive word "male". "Then enroll women in the Naval Reserve as yeomen," I said, "and we will have the best clerical assistance the country can provide." [Ref. 24: p. 626]

Subsequently, some 12,500 enlisted women dubbed "Yeoman (F)" or "Yeomanettes" served with hospital and intelligence units in France, Puerto Rico [Ref. 22: p. 12] and the Panama Canal Zone [Ref. 24: p. 627]. They performed such duties as translators, drafters, recruiters, camouflage

designers, and fingerprint experts [Ref. 24: p. 626]. During this time Navy assignment policies required all yeomen to be assigned to ships. However, Navy regulations prohibited women from being sent to sea. Therefore, to overcome this technical difficulty, the Navy "assigned" the yeomanettes to tugboats which lay on the bottom of the Potomac [Ref. 22: p. 12].

c. The U.S. Marine Corps in World War I

The Marine Corps' recruitment of women was initiated two months before hostilities ended. It did not occur until the corps suffered acute shortages of combat personnel [Ref. 22: p. 12]. The Corps concluded that 40 percent of those clerical jobs being held by able-bodied combat prepared marines could be performed by women. It estimated that three women could probably do the job that had been done by two men. It turned out that, in general, two women were able to do the jobs previously done by three men [Ref. 22: p. 12]. Over 300 Marine (F) or "Marinettes" performed critical clerical, recruiting, and bond-drive duties in the Marine Corps [Ref. 24: p. 627].

d. Post War Response to Women

The War Department never altered its opposition to enlisting women. When the war ended the issue was viewed as moot, and the War Department issued a one-page memorandum which temporarily put the discussion aside:

> In view of the present military situation it is believed no longer desirable that arrangements be made to form military organizations composed of women....A continuation of the war would have required the United States to make a much more extended use of women....to replace men sent overseas or men shifted to heavy work which men alone can do. [Ref. 22: p. 14 and Ref. 3: p. 44]

The last of the Navy and the Marine Corps women were discharged in 1922. The Naval Reserve Act that authorized their enlistment was amended in 1925 limiting future service to males only [Ref. 24: p. 627]. Thus, after WWI and prior to WWII, no service had the legal authority to recruit or enlist women other than nurses [Ref. 25: p. 4].

3. World War II: Opposition and Need

a. Army

During WWII, over 25 percent of America's professional nurses volunteered for military service [Ref. 23: p. 132]. In other military areas, ready acceptance of women's participation was not the norm. Such exclusions did not go unnoticed.

In 1941, Congresswoman Edith Nourse Rogers of Massachusetts advised the Army Chief of Staff, General Marshall, that she was submitting legislation to give women full military status [Ref. 24: p. 631]. She wanted to ensure that women would not serve as in WWI--without the protections and benefits afforded men. A number had suffered health problems as a result of prior service during the war but could not draw veterans' benefits [Ref. 22: p. 22].

General Marshall, concerned with what he saw as pending shortages of both supplies and personnel [Ref. 3: p. 49], supported the employment of women as prospective mobilization resources. Marshall spoke to Congress:

> "Women certainly must be employed in the overall effort of this nation....we consider it essential that their status, their relationship to the military authority; should be clearly established." [Ref. 22: p. 23]

General Marshall delegated to his General Staff the task of devising a supportive plan. The War Department requested a delay [Ref. 24: p. 631]. The Assistant Chief of Staff for Personnel wrote:

> Congresswoman Edith Nourse Rogers has been determined for some time to introduce a bill to provide a woman's organization in the Army. We have succeeded in stopping her in the promise that we are studying the same thing, and will permit her to introduce a bill which will meet with War Department approval. Mrs. Roosevelt also seemed to have a plan. The sole purpose of this study is to permit the organization of a women's force along lines which meet with War Department approval, so that when it is forced upon us, as it will undoubtedly be, we shall be able to run it our way. [Ref. 24: p. 631]

Congresswoman Rogers assessed what appeared to be the strong resistance of the War Department and members of Congress and compromised on the legislative proposal [Ref. 22: p. 22]. The Army plan proposed utilizing a small, elite auxiliary corp of educated and technically competent women, many of whom would, ironically, be used in unskilled laundry and cleaning jobs [Ref. 22: p. 22]. The bill experienced lengthy delays in the War Department despite General Marshall's

support for it. After 7 December 1941, War Department resistance lessened considerably as it began to mobilize resources for war [Ref. 22: p. 23]. For, in spite of the draft, the Army was short 160,000 ground troops [Ref. 22: p. 23]. Yet opposition to the WAAC legislation remained high in the Congress in spite of the critical personnel situation. Most resistance was in the House where one member expressed concern:

> I think it is a reflection upon the courageous manhood of the country to pass a law inviting women to join the armed forces in order to win a battle. Take the women into the armed services, who then will do the cooking, the washing, the mending, the humble homey tasks to which every woman has devoted herself. Think of the humilization! What has become of the manhood of America? [Ref. 22: p. 24]

Arguments were put forth expressing concerns that male soldiers would continue to fight even if their male buddies were shot, but would stop to give first aid if their buddies were women [Ref. 3: p. 49].

The Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC) legislation finally passed in May, 1942. Members of the WAAC were administrated separately from soldiers, although they did Army jobs in the place of male soldiers. Women weren't subject to a binding enlistment contract and did not have the same medical, legal, pay, rank or dependent's benefits as men [Ref. 22: p. 24]. Attempts to manage the WAAC as an auxiliary resulted in numerous administrative difficulties [Ref. 25: p. 4]. Less than efficient planning resulted in costly mistakes that took a year to overcome [Ref. 25: p. 4].

The lack of planning was apparent as the Army couldn't decide how many women it would be able to utilize. It decided on 25,000 and then discovered it could use 1.5 million [Ref. 18: p. 3]. It then attempted to recruit 150,000 within a one-year period [Ref. 25: p. 3]. After a most unsuccessful crash recruiting campaign, it realized that it would have difficulties meeting even this number without a draft [Ref. 22: p. 48]. One reason was that potential recruits were attracted to other women's components which, unlike the WAAC, were granting full military status to women [Ref. 22: p. 24]. As a result, many WAAC training bases stood unused. In September of 1943 the WAAC was disestablished and the Women's Army Corps (WAC) was established granting women full military status and benefits for the period of the war and six months after termination of hostilities [Ref. 3: p. 509]. Oveta Xulp Hobby was appointed the first director of the WAC. In her first press conference she fielded reporters' questions:

> How about girdles?
>
> Will the women salute?
>
> Will they march and carry arms?
>
> [Ref. 3: p. 50]

Newspaper headlines heralded the inclusion of women in the defense effort:

> "PETTICOAT ARMY FORMED!"
>
> "DOUGHGIRL GENERALISSIMOS!"
>
> "FORT WACKIES!"
>
> [Ref. 3: p. 50]

The WAC faced other difficulties which ultimately impacted on recruiting efforts. Previously, WAACs (and other military women) had been the subjects of widespread and vicious rumors of their "immoral" conduct and tendencies. The Army at first thought, from the intensity of the rumor campaign, that it was an Axis ploy aimed at stifling WAAC recruiting [Ref. 24: p. 633]. Even the President of the U.S., the First Lady, and the Secretaries of the Services attempted to neutralize it [Ref. 22: p. 52]. FBI and military intelligence investigators traced the major source of these rumors to American military males, most of whom had had no contact with members of the WAAC [Ref. 24: p. 633]. Soldiers' wives and disgruntled discharged WAACs were also among those to whom the rumors were traced [Ref: 3: pp. 53-54]. Other services also felt the impact of such rumors. The Commandant of the Marine Corps sent a letter to all post commanders stressing their responsibilities for the behavior of men towards women [Ref. 22: p. 52]. General Marshall was said to be outraged by it all, and wrote to all Army Commanders reminding them of their leadership responsibilities.

The WAC Director proposed a re-education program for Army servicemen. Her proposal never made it past Lieutenant General Somervell, Commander, Services and Supply [Ref. 22: p. 53]. WAAC enlistments dropped in spite of Army recruiting and image building campaigns [Ref. 24: p. 633].

Yet, in spite of these problems, over 41,000 women did join the WAC. Over 15,000 members served in Europe, North Africa, the South Pacific, China, and Burma [Ref. 24: p. 633]. Most worked in clerical jobs. Others worked in communications, intelligence, and motor transport. They worked long hours, often under stress [Ref. 24: p. 634]. WAC members even served in forward positions of combat zones [Ref. 24: p. 634]. The professional performances of these women were assessed as exemplary [Ref. 3: p. 58]. General Eisenhower wrote to the War Department:

> During the time that I have had WAC's under my command, they have met every test and task assigned them. Their contribution in efficiency, skill, spirit, and determination are immeasurable. [Ref. 3: p. 59]

In terms of traditionally expressed areas of concern, these women had a lower nonbattle hospitalization rate than men. The pregnancy rate was negligible and the women developed psychological disorders less often than men. The venereal disease rate was one-sixth that of the male rate and disciplinary rates were a fraction of the rate for men.

Efforts to have women included in the peacetime Army were pushed by four Generals from the European Theatre--Eisenhower, Devers, Spaatz, and Eaker. These women had been recruited only after the utilization of marginal men, including illiterates, and even some prisoners, had proven inadequate [Ref. 3: p. 54].

b. Navy

The U.S. Navy Department had no active interest in utilizing women early in 1941. Only the Chief of Naval Operations and the Bureau of Aeronautics (BuAer) had indicated a desire for studies on the matter [Ref. 24: p. 634]. But the Navy, like the other services, soon came to realize that it would face serious problems with manning the fleet and forward bases in the event of war [Ref. 22: p. 25]. The Bureau of Aeronautics recommended that legislation be submitted to permit women to fill the shore establishment billet shortages that would result in case of mobilization.

Yet, the Bureau of Naval Personnel (Bupers) did not act until motivated by both Pearl Harbor and Congresswoman Rogers [Ref. 22: p. 25]. The Navy and Marine Corps experienced heavy losses in the Pacific [Ref. 22: p. 26]; and during the Spring of 1942, the Navy determined that it had to utilize military women so that men could be free for duty in the fleet and with forward bases [Ref. 22: p. 26]. BuAer and the CNO submitted assessments of numbers and areas of prospective utilization of women. BuAer estimated that 20,000 women would be needed [Ref. 24: p. 635]. Yet, even though over 11,000 Yeomanettes have served in WWI, Bupers could only find three billets that women could fill [Ref. 24: p. 635]. The Bureau of Medicine and Surgery did not see a need for women. And the Bureau of Supplies and Accounts,

which would soon utilize a large number of women, offered that the establishment of a women's Auxiliary Corps did not appear desirable [Ref. 24: p. 635]. Many flag officers also expressed resistance at the idea of utilizing women.

> One observer noted that certain of the older admirals would have preferred "dogs or monkeys" to women, if it had been possible to use them. [Ref. 22: p. 256]

In spite of all such resistances, the Secretary of the Navy Reserve submitted a bill to the Executive Branch that would amend the Navy Reserve Act to include women during wartime [Ref. 24: p. 635]. The Bureau of the Budget did not forward the bill, noting that the bill did not propose an auxiliary concept parallel to that of the WAAC bill [Ref. 24: p. 635]. This in action was despite the fact that the Secretary of the Navy had previously specified that Navy women would be in a reserve rather than in an auxiliary status such as the Army had proposed [Ref. 22: p. 26]. With a bit of help from certain members of the Bureau of Aeronautics [Ref. 22: p. 26], two congressmen obtained copies of the bill from the Navy and introduced it in both the House and Senate Naval Affairs Committees [Ref. 24: p. 635]. The bill passed the House, but was held up in the Senate where some committee members expressed their convictions that the military services were not places for women and that such service would have devastating effect on the likelihood of these women being "good mothers" at some future time [Ref. 22: p. 26].

Finally the bill was forwarded to the President with the recommendation that women in the Navy be organized in the Navy Auxiliary. Dean Harriet Elliot of the University of North Carolina appealed to the First Lady, and expressed the need for passage of legislation that would give Navy women full military status [Ref. 22: p. 26; Ref. 24: pp. 634-636]. Mrs. Roosevelt intervened on that behalf with the President and the Secretary of the Navy's bill for a Women's Naval Reserve became law. Public Law 689 was signed on 30 July, 1942. The first director of Navy women, Mildred McAfee was commissioned as a Lieutenant Commander in the Navy Reserve [Ref. 24: p. 636]. She agreed, reluctantly, to call Navy women reservists WAVES, an acronym for Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service [Ref. 22: p. 27]. The acronym was coined by Professor Elizabeth Reynard of Barnard College, one of the advisors for formation of the Reserve [Ref. 24: p. 636]. She explained that WAVES would be a catchy recruiting title; and that the word "volunteer" would tend to:

> "comfort the older admirals because it implies that we're only a temporary crisis and won't be around for keeps." [Ref. 24: p. 636]

From July 1943 to July 1945, the number of WAVES grew from 27,000 to over 86,000. Enlisted women served in virtually every type of Navy job in the continental United States. Navy pilots assigned to flight school between 1943 and 1945 were trained exclusively by women. Women worked

in a number of ratings that were considered traditionally male-oriented: metalsmith, aviation camera repairman, printer, and aviation machinist's mate. WAVE officers were assigned in the areas of general line, aviation, civil engineering, communications, intelligence, supply, legal, medical, dental, engineering and electronics. Eighty women officers were naval air navigators authorized for transoceanic flights to areas where other WAVES were stationed. Women not only trained pilots--they serviced aircraft, guided takeoffs and landings, and packed parachutes. [Ref. 24: pp. 636-637]

There were, however, problems associated with apparent underutilization of both enlisted women and women officers by commanding officers or supervisors who were unfamiliar with supervising women or who utilized women in their respective ratings only when those ratings were similar to traditional "women's jobs" found in the civilian community. [Ref. 24: p. 637]

At the end of WWII, there were 8,000 women officers, 78,000 enlisted women, and 8,000 women in training on active duty in the WAVES [Ref. 24: p. 637]. At peak numbers women filled seventy-five percent of the billets in the center of the Navy's communications system--Radio Washington. Seventy percent of Bupers billets were filled by women. Of those uniformed Navy department personnel assigned in Washington, D.C., fifty-five percent were women [Ref. 24: p. 637]..

Because of women's participation, 50,500 men were released for overseas and shipboard duties. Women also filled 27,000 billets created as a result of wartime increases [Ref. 24: p. 637].

c. The Marine Corps

The Marine Corps Women's Reserve was authorized by the same legislation as the Navy's Women Reserve. Yet, the Corps was the most hesitant service in terms of utilizing women, even as a means of releasing men for combat functions [Ref. 22: p. 33]. The Commandant knew that the scale of women's participation in the corps would be much greater than it was during WWI [Ref. 22: p. 33]. He envisioned numerous problems with this reality. But by November of 1942 he heeded staff advice and recommended to the Secretary of the Navy that women be utilized as much as possible so that men could be reassigned to combat roles [Ref. 22: p. 33]. The Marines took note of a Coast Guard lead and had nineteen WAVES reassigned as the initial contingent of the Marine Corps Women's Reserve [Ref. 22: p. 33; Ref. 24: p. 637]. 17,578 enlisted women and 831 officers served at the height of the war [Ref. 24: p. 638]. These women filled eighty-seven percent of the enlisted billets at the Headquarters of the Marine Corps [Ref. 24: p. 638].

d. The Coast Guard

The U.S. Coast Guard falls under the U.S. Navy administration in wartime [Ref. 24: p. 638]. On 23 November

1942, Public Law 773 was passed to provide for the release of "officers and men for duty at sea", and the participation of women as these men's replacements in the shore establishment [Ref. 24: p. 638]. Sixteen Navy women officers and 153 enlisted Navy women transferred to the Coast Guard to establish the new Coast Guard Women's Reserve [Ref. 24: p. 638]. The name SPAR was coined for this Reserve--an acronym reflecting the Coast Guard motto: semper paratus, always ready [Ref. 24: p. 638].

SPARs were utilized primarily in traditional women's jobs. Ten percent of the 1100 SPARs were trained in nontraditional ratings (motion picture operator, radioman, cook, pharmacist's mate, and motor vehicle repairman) [Ref. 24: p. 639]. Officers served in areas such as communications, supply and general duty [Ref. 24: p. 639].

4. Post WWII

a. The Women's Armed Services Act

The Women's Armed Services Act was passed on 2 June 1948 and signed into law on 12 June 1948. The law resulted in a permanent military status for women in the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Air Force. The passage of the Act was rooted in manpower considerations. Its purpose was to provide a means for the efficient mobilization of women in case of war [Ref. 22: p. 119].

The law restricted the number of enlisted women to two percent of the enlisted and strength of each service.

The number of women officers was restricted to ten percent of the number of enlisted women [Ref. 24: p. 642]. Women had to score higher than men on aptitude tests, and had to be better educated than men to be eligible to serve. Women had to be 21 years old to enlist without parental consent, while males could enlist at 18 without such consent [Ref. 24: p. 642]. Despite the widespread utilization of women during WWII, the military specialty areas and overseas units to which women could be assigned were sharply curtailed [Ref. 24: p. 642].

Dynamics related to the passage of the Act through the U.S. Congress were most involved. There were proponents for the measure: Secretary of Defense Forrestal; Generals Eisenhower and Bradley; Admirals Denfield, Nimitz and Radford; Generals Spaartz, Vandenburg, and Eaker [Ref. 22: p. 11b]. The Commandant of the Marine Corps, General Vandegrift, concurred after initially opposing passage. Opposition in the Congress was strong, and was primarily focused on two expressed issues:

1. A fear that women would command men;
2. Concern with how best to ensure that women would not be combatants.

[Ref. 22: p. 118]

Congress acted on both issues. With respect to women commanding men, Congress gave the Secretaries of the respective services the prerogative of determining duties and levels of

authority that women in the respective services would exercise [Ref. 22: p. 118]. With regard to the issue of women in combat, Congress elected to place restrictions on the Navy and Air Force, but, because the Army could not adequately define combat, left this matter in the hands of the Army Secretary. However, Congress clearly indicated to the Army Secretary that there would be no combat for women [Ref. 22: p. 119]. The issue had been much simpler with respect to the Navy and Air Force. Congress banned women from combat ships and aircraft [Ref. 22: p. 118]. While the Navy had no intention of sending women to sea, it preferred that the matter not be set in law, but the restriction was inserted over Navy objections [Ref. 22: p. 118]. The restrictive clauses (6015-10 USC; 8549-10 USC), are the basis for even more restrictive service policies which limit the scope of women's participation. The basis of the clauses was rooted in a personal response of Carl Vinson, Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee in 1948 [Ref. 22: p. 395]. He told the Navy witnesses during hearings for the Integration Act: "Just fix it so that they cannot go to sea at all." The result was section 6015 of title 10 [Ref. 22: p. 327].

b. Women in the Air Force

With the passage of the Women's Armed Services Act, the Women in the Air Force (WAF) came into existence. The Air Force had only been an independent service for nine months at the time. Air Force leadership had two ideas in

mind for the WAF--it would be an integral part of the Air Force, and it would recruit only the elite [Ref. 22: p. 130]. But the firmly entrenched Army mentality towards women prevailed, in spite of intentions to the contrary. Women were considered separately, and referred to with the designation "WAF". On 16 June 1948, Colonel Geraldine P. May was designated the first Director of the WAF [Ref. 22: p. 131].

c. Korea and Vietnam

The Korean War and Vietnam conflict reinforced the pattern that women in the military be utilized in larger numbers only when male labor reserves are depleted [Ref. 3: p. 69]. The services chose not to send women, other than nurses, to what was considered the "fluid" Korean.combat zone [Ref. 22: p. 150]. Of those women who served in Vietnam, the majority were nurses [Ref. 22: p. 207]. At the time that U.S. forces withdrew from Vietnam, over 7500 military women had served [Ref. 22: p. 206], a fraction of those that could have been assigned to noncombat positions.

5. Past and Present: Consistent Trends

Women have historically been utilized by the military as a resource of last resort. They have been recruited in times of crisis when the prospects of recruiting even minimally qualified males have proven insufficient to meet force level requirements. In periods of wartime crisis, women have been called to fill critical job requirements in areas that have

been regarded as traditional and non-traditional for women. Although their professional performances have been described by services in most lauditory terms, at the end of each crisis, women have been demobilized, with no significant upward mobility gains in the military social structure. The contemporary "crisis" is personnel related, rooted in a shortage of potential male volunteers and in the prospect of a declining pool of potential male recruits. As with past crises, women are being utilized in greater numbers and roles to alleviate critical number shortages. Their professional performances are again being described in most positive terms. The participation by increased numbers of servicewomen has been cited as a key factor in the success of the All-Volunteer force. Yet historical patterns of restriction of women's participation again loom as general economic conditions have resulted in a greater number of male volunteers. The Army has announced moves to restrict the scope of women's participation, even as the overall numbers of servicewomen are being increased. Rationales reflect speculative concerns around the impact of increasing numbers of women in the still nebulously defined or described areas of "combat" and in "combat mission effectiveness." Restrictive service policies go beyond the letter of the law. The more tangible empirical research indices needed to objectively address stated concerns of women's increased numbers remain sparse; often restrictively focused on implications of women's physiology of traditional

psychosocial patterns. Such focus has generated expressions of cynicism that women are being most effectively utilized and supported as valued, respected, and fully integrated members of the military establishment. Historical and present day trends suggest that the basis of much general and managerial response to increased number of service women is rooted, not in women's potentials or demonstrated professional performance, but rather, in deep seated traditional notions of the woman's place in society. This view was not surprising given the male-oriented ideological orientation of the military services. A meaningful exploration of the implications of gender integration on mission achievement must, therefore, go beyond the isolated focus on normative social and psychobiological personality traits of women. A more functional consideration of gender integration and its implications on personnel utilization and mission effectiveness is likely to stem from reqlistically viewing interpersonal/intergroup responses and leadership responsibilities in the context of the gender-integrated, male dominated military work environment.

IV. IMPLICATIONS OF SEX ROLE IDEOLOGY: THE MILITARY CONTEXT

A. INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes factors of organizational climate and interpersonal dynamics that are of relevance for the military planner or manager. The chapter begins with a description of the military social environment, and discusses the implications of relevant interpersonal/intergroup responses in that environment. Factors relevant to manager or supervisor efficacy are cited.

B. CHANGES TO THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Military organizations have historically been male dominated institutions. The cultures within which they exist have, in most instances, nurtured a social personality that mandates defense as the obligation of male members. As previously described, in U.S. culture, the inclusion of women in significant numbers has traditionally been restricted to times of crisis when reserve pools of men have been depleted. After each conflict women have been displaced with no permanent gain in the military social structure [Ref. 3: p. II]. Yet, in the United States, that pattern has been modified, and a peacetime expansion in the utilization of women is evident. The reasons for this extended use can be viewed in terms of the more visible (manifest) functions and the less

visible and less publicized (latent) functions that the increased utilization of women serves for the military [Ref. 3: p. 94].

1. Manifest Functions

The general public has been exposed to an imagery that contributes to the more visible function--the projection of the military as an equal opportunity employer. Stars and Stripes communicated this imagery of a thoroughly integrated military environment:

> A myth is dying. Women in uniform are shooting it full of holes. With more occupations open to American military women that even before, women in uniform are literally everywhere; driving trucks, flying airplanes, repairing engines, climbing telephone poles, and even handing out traffic tickets. [Ref. 3: p. 98]

Such egalitarian imagery is generally aesthetic to Americans, and dominates perceptions of the role that women's participation serves for the military. This, as an isolated view of women's participation has its drawbacks, for it does not challenge the basic ideological notion that men only can seriously "defend". Resistance is quite observable from those who do not find the notion of participation for reasons of "equal opportunity" convincing or desirable:

> "Its not the Army's job to serve as a social agency. However worthy the women's movement, its goals are not part of our primary mission. Our concern should be combat readiness, period."
>
> Field Grade Officer
> [Ref. 26: p. 7]

The aura of the ideology emerges as one analyzes the hidden assumptions of similar responses.

"...In summary, the political administration seems to be trying to use the military as a vehicle for further social change in our society, with respect to the indiscriminate role of women, in utter disregard for potential fighting effectiveness. No man of gumption wants a woman to fight his Nation's battles."

General William C. Westmoreland
[Ref. 25: p. 1980]

2. Latent Functions

Less often acknowledged or as in the previous example; perhaps not even recognized are the primary organizational impacts that are, in fact, derived from the increased utilization of women in the military. Michael Rustad cites eight such "latent" functions served by women:

> 1) The Defense Department used women to cultivate its image as a social welfare institution; 2) Because high quality men will not enlist in the volunteer military, women serve as a reserve army of last resort; 3) Female recruits have a higher educational level and score higher on military aptitude tests than men. Women smarten up the Army; 4) An increase in female military participation contributes to a more socially representative force; 5) Military women end up in the military justice apparatus less often. Since women soldiers are better behaved than the men, they save the military management both time and money; 6) Female military labor is much cheaper than male labor. Females are cheaper to recruit, train, and retain. Women help stave off the military's fiscal crisis in manpower costs; 7) To the extent that they make the all-volunteer force work, they replenish the military's fund of legitimacy; and 8) at the enlisted level, women are a convenient pool of marriage partners. [Ref. 3: pp. II,III]

David R. Segal also cites reasons, other than strictly equalitarian, for the expanded roles for women. Reasons cited by Segal include: changes in perceptions of women's roles brought on by the feminist movement; previously anticipated ratification of the E.R.A. by the states; and the

transition of the military to an all-volunteer force. The end of the draft resulted in fewer male enlistees. Those males who volunteered were coming, in increasing numbers, from "low quality" personnel in terms of educational background and aptitude scores. At the same time, the military had been turning away women high school graduates who had scored in the upper percentiles of mental tests [Ref. 27: p. 103]. Thus, increased recruitment of women was viewed as a feasible option for maintaining force levels at a higher quality than would have been possible had all other relevant variables been held constant.

3. Resistance to Change

Despite these considerations of "latent functions", the "manifest function" imagery is that that dominates perceptions of women's increased participation. Herein is the context of discussions which follow. Into an oranization whose social structure and social personality, like that of its broader culture, is male-oriented and dominated, comes the visibility of more women. Yet the changing structural and technological requirements that these increased numbers meet are less visible than the changes they motivate. Traditional notions of normative sex roles, though countered, are not meaningfully challenged, nor viewed as inconsistent with conflicting realities. Thus, for many, the need for such change remains obscure and inconsistent with socialized and internalized gender-role expectations. Here, then, is

the basis for much resistance from many who see the existing male dominated military social structure as adequate, and, in terms of previous discussions, ideologically "normal", reflective of that which "ought to be".

Thus, the roots of manifest resistance to women's participation are multifaceted, reflected in issues of internalized attachments to existing procedures, social arrangements [Ref. 28: p. 141], individual and group identity, and perceived and established power relationships. We will explore these items further.

C. MAJORITY/MINORITY POWER RELATIONSHIPS

One theme useful for examining the dynamics surrounding implications of change in the military is that of majority/minority power relations. D. Stanley Eitzen describes characteristics of majority/minority power relationships that have historically been descriptive of the interaction of males and females in mainstream U.S. society and in the military:

1. The dominant group provides the norms, standards, and values by which individuals and groups in the society are judged.

2. The dominant group establishes a rewards and punishment system for the society.

3. The minority group is composed of persons with similar characteristics that differ significantly from the dominant group.

4. The minority group is singled out for differential and unfair treatment.

Although women in mainstream U.S. society constitute a numerical majority, they are, in terms of economic and social status a power minority. Women constitute both a numerical and power minority in the respective services. Power implications warrant specific focus; for their impacts are observable at organizational, intergroup, and interpersonal levels. Related dynamics are numerous.

1. The Organizational/Intergroup Context

a. Anti-effeminacy and the "Cult of Masculinity"

In terms of its male dominated composition, folklore, and tradition, the military has been described as cultivator of a "cult of Masculinity". Consistent with the broader culture's social personality, maleness is emphasized in recruiting that wants a "few good men" or that promises that membership in the organization will transform the male enlistee into a "MAN" [Ref. 3: p. 294]. A percentage of men will seek acceptance into the military simply because they see such acceptance as a warranty of their masculinity [Ref. 29: p. 213]. The exaggerated masculinity emphasized in military culture has, at times, been openly disdainful and resentful of women. In basic training, those men who don't perform well are at times stigmatized "women". Men who don't act out the aggression of supermasculinity are commonly referred to as "pussies". The male Army clerical is referred to as "WAC" or as a "chicken" [Ref. 3: p. 296]. Male marine clerks are called "office pinkies". Thus men are placed in

an environment which encourages them to adopt the norms, standards, values, and imagery of manliness which exaggerate qualities of dominance and aggression [Ref. 3: p. 295]. The good combatant is portrayed as one who is virile, not a "sissy" or a "virgin" [Ref. 23]. Into this environment comes the increased visibility of women.

b. Male Bonding Behavior

(1) Women as Tokens. Kanger describes "tokens" as individuals who are greatly outnumbered in a group or organization, and who are often treated as representatives of their category rather than individuals [Ref. 30: p. 208]. Binken and Bach cite one consequence of women's token status in the military environment:

> Research suggests that as long as women are in the minority, men will continue to view them according to preconceived stereotypes and to fulfill their own need to project the male image. This would tend to isolate women, keep the male group in conflict with them, and thus reduce overall group productivity. [Ref. 4: p. 92]

(2) "Token as "Threat". Given the masculine orientation of the military, and the traditional role expectations internalized as part of the nation's social personality, it is not surprising that resistance results when women enter the male-dominated or previously all-male work environments. Implications may be even more complex during peacetime. Skolnik argues that male self-esteem is lower during peacetime as boredom and feelings of being unappreciated prevail. During those times, the serviceman may increase reliance on tradition

[Ref. 2: p. 33] and male centered military folklore. Additionally, with the entry of women into the traditionally male domain, the previously interpreted freedom from social restraints in an aura of comaraderie can be seen to be threatened as focus turns to modifying the nature of jokes and language [Ref. 3: p. 311]. And when women perform successfully in military jobs, other issues of male-esteem are raised; for if "she" can do the job, it can no longer be regarded as a way of affirming masculinity [Ref. 3: p. 311]. The dialectic influences of social structure, social personality, and ideology become quite dynamic as much of the male-dominated social structure resists the visible structural role changes that are taking place. For some women the message is far from "welcome aboard".

> The first day I reported aboard--when I came up to the quarterdeck--handed my orders to the OOD and said that I was reporting aboard for duty--there was a chief on the quarterdeck who just about passed out. I guess he hadn't been told or something. You in the right place--ma'am? I said--yes--I'm reporting aboard for duty. And I was assigned to deck department which is supposedly the tough guys of the ship--the boatswain mates and a lot of them are people that can't fit in anywhere else--so to speak--or they have been dumped from other departments because if they're unsuitable--they go to deck. It's supposed to be the bottom--and I had kind of that feel when I came aboard--that I would go--that I would have a bunch of convicts working for me or something--that was my initial impression. I came aboard and the 1st Lt. on here met me on the quarterdeck--he just happened to be down there. And he took me up to the office where we work--we didn't have any chiefs--we had four 1st class and they all had 15 years in the Navy--they were all sitting up there-just kind of sitting there smoking cigarettes. I walked in and the 1st Lt. said--this is your new division officer--Ensign-----. They were all sitting there eyeing me and none of them

said--welcome aboard or anything. And they were just kind of eyeing me. I went through the process of getting checked aboard and later one of the 1st class came over to me and said--I've been through all this "Women in the Navy" workshop stuff--he said--if you think I'm going to change because you're here-- you're wrong. I've been in the Navy too long to clean up my language and to be nice and to change the way I do things--because I've got a woman to fork for. So--I said--ok. I said--I don't expect you to change--I expect you to do the job that you're supposed to do.

Navy LTJG, 1982
NPS Interview

(3) "Token as "Women". Women as tokens in the predominantly-male military environment, in addition to facing the isolation deriving from male-bonding behavior, also face issues related to personal identity and "appropriate behavior". Because "tokens" are likely to be regarded as representatives of the category "women", they stand to be treated as reflections of stereotypes dictated by the social personality rather than as individuals. They face both the realities of isolation, the pressures to adopt stereotyped roles, and the ambiguity of varying supervisor performance expectations. Examples citing resulting difficulties are numerous:

"I have been in the Army nearly six years and each time I move to a new duty station I must prove myself all over again. I must prove that I can pull my own weight. The common view is that no woman can possibly take it...we have to break traditional views on women's roles; cope with male supremacy, we have too many roles at one time." [Ref. 3: p. 235]

"Supervisors ignore us and hope we'll go away."

"...wives see us as threats and make comments."

"We want acceptance as individuals rather than as someone's wife, mother, or lover. They never see us as capable soldiers."

"We are treated as sexual objects rather than as competent supervisees."

"We are overprotected so we are never given the chance to prove ourselves."

"I'm an individual and I don't approve of being categorized. They categorized us as "get overs: regardless of our rank and experience."

[Ref. 3: pp. 235-237]

Women also face the heightened visibility of their token status. The subject of "women" has its share of seminars, workshops and research survey focus. Every behavior is noticed. Many express surprise at the presence of a woman in a traditionally "male" occupation:

An Air Force woman working as an air controller cleared a male pilot to land:

> His voice came back through the microphone very startled, and he said, "What was that!" Then my supervisor, a man took over and the pilot said, "I thought I heard a woman's voice." He still wouldn't believe it when he was told that it was a woman's voice. [Ref. 3: p. 251]

2. Implications of the Terms of Interactions

a. Leadership Focus

Research indicates that leadership plays a primary role in male acceptance of women in non-traditional jobs, female self-image, and equity in terms of opportunity and responsibility [Ref. 31: p. 33]. Foley cites a Beckwith study which focused on leadership and management problems as the underlying causes of most problems involving Army women

[Ref. 31: p. 33]. Related dynamics are of critical import given that official reports have often focused on aspects of women's physiology and psychology, speculating negatively on the likelihood of women's successful performance, contrary to existing empirical indices that reflect otherwise. Though constituting a numerical and power minority in the military, women are often viewed as solely responsible for interpersonal/ intergroup dynamics of structural redefinitions which occur with gender integration:

> Sexual fraternization is an inevitable consequence of the widespread integration of women throughout the Army....
>
> The introduction of women into previously all male groups will alter the dynamics and affect the performance of that group (negative). [Ref. 32]

From an Air Force Policy statement on policy dimensions of an integrated force, women's traditional or normative behavior is reflected as conductive to polarization:

> Women often cause their own problems. When they first moved into the "new" world of non-traditional jobs, many women acted traditional, feminine ways as their dominant modus operandi, probably because it was their only known successful behavior in a male environment, although such behavior further polarized the situation. [Ref. 32: p. 691]

b. Contact Theory

On a group basis, given the current distribution of power and the greater prestige placed on combat roles in the military environment, other implications are evident with regard to male response to women's token status and utilization. Skolnik cites "contact theory" as a relevant

social-psychological approach to understanding group interactions. The theory indicates that if a less-valued group interacts on an equal basis with a more-valued group, the attitudes toward the less-valued group improve. If the less-valued group interacts in inferior roles relative the more-valued group, then negative stereotypes and attitudes remain. Thus, the terms that men and women interact on have significant effect [Ref. 2: p. 41].

c. Consistency with the Social Personality

The perceived role that the woman acts in can also have effect. Male supervisors of women in non-traditional areas have expressed beliefs that women are less capable. Yet, at the same time, supervisors in both traditional and non-traditional areas have expressed the opinion that women performed as well as men in learning required tasks and progressing in advancement training [Ref. 3: p. 225]. Lockheed, in a study of male and female responses to cues depicting achieving women concluded:

> This study suggests that the attitudes of women toward successful women are more favorable than those of men toward successful women. It further indicates that while men report punitive and unaccepting attitudes toward successful women, these attitudes are subject to influence by the environment in which the success takes place. If female success is depicted as occurring in an environment in which female participation is as frequent as male participation, males tend to react favorably to this success; when the success is associated with "deviant" female behavior, males react punitively. The success of the woman is not the issue as much as the deviant nature of her actions. [Ref. 33: p. 49]

d. Shift in Perceived Power Relations

Women, in relation to men, have traditionally been regarded as subordinate. Roles and social etiquette have dictated appropriate behaviors reflective of this relationship. Since the individual self-concept in some ways relates to how one sees self in relation to others, these dynamics have resulted for some men and women in assumptions of male superiority with respect to women. The assumptions of male superiority underlies other interpersonal/intergroup dynamics:

E-6 It was sexual harassment and it was with my division officer which is a CDR...he wanted my body to put it bluntly....He would always come up to the tower when my crew was on duty....he sat right behind me in this chair and he never sat, you know, like he should sit--like this, or whatever. He always sat like this--his leg on--oh God. Here I was--busy--and I couldn't deal with it easily.

Interviewer: You mean (he was) spread eagled?

E-6 Yea, one of these numbers...I had to put up with his shit until he left....

NPS Interview (1982)

> We have to prove that we're not enlisted whores or lesbians. Some men prey on us when we are new to the company for dates. If we go out with them, then we are whores to other men. If we refuse, we are labeled lesbians. [Ref. 3: p. 236]

Expanded roles for women have resulted in senior-subordinate relationships that counter the traditional male-superiority/female-inferiority etiquette balance:

Male Petty Officer	...It's hard to take an order from a woman....
Interviewer	...what's your first reaction?
Male Petty Officer	Submission...subordination
Interviewer	...more than you feel with a man?
Male Petty Officer	No...no, not the same feeling at all....CDR (male) tells me to do something I do it but... a little turn of the gut. It's a hard feeling to describe... I'm not that open minded when it comes to working for women... maybe that's the way I was brought up.

NPS Interview (1982)

e. Issues of Identity: A Continuum

Women as "tokens" in the military are pioneers--caught between the behavioral expectations of the traditionally male dominated military environment and the behavioral expectations of femininity socialized from birth. Appropriate achievement behavior in the military is often defined in terms of characteristics socialized in males. The woman who adopts such behavior is often viewed as "deviant", and has her femininity questioned. But "feminine" behaviors are often ineffective in ensuring work achievement. Women face reconciliation of these conflicting expectations in numerous ways. Certain extremes have proven to be the attention getters.

(1) Dependence and Underachievement. Some, consistent with Spiro's levels 1 through 5, adopt behaviors of dependence or underachievement. The more common of the

underachievement roles are characterized by Rustad as "daddy's little girl", the "sex-pot", and "mama" [Ref. 3: p. 288]. Underachieving responses encompass those wherein the woman more or less retreats into adopting exaggerated traditional role expectations in relating in the organization. The individual characterized "daddy's little girl", interacts with that supervisor who acts out paternalistic and protective "daddy" behaviors. The "little girl" type is often viewed by other women as undermining womens' efforts to be respected as contributing members of the organization. She and her "role partner" often stir dynamics of resentment in men who feel they must bear the "extra duty" consequences of her being "protected". Most resentment is likely to be focused on her as a woman "getting over" [Ref. 3: p. 261]. Another approach is that Rustad characterizes the "sex-pot", who pursues sexual relationships with willing male supervisors. Often she, too, is seen to be subject to fewer work demands and other women and men respond negatively to the situation she and the supervisor create [Ref. 3: p. 265]. As before, she as the woman, is usually the primary focus of resentment and her behavior is likely to be generalized to women as a group:

> I see most of the problems of women as self-induced. Many military women put themselves in the positions they complain about.
>
> Male vehicle mechanic
> [Ref. 3: pp. 265-266]

The third form of "exaggerated femininity" described by Rustad can be seen in the role of "mama" or the woman who acts overly nurturing in the work environment, encouraging and consoling the men in that environment. According to Rustad, these three roles are conformance roles, used as escape from the contradictions of being women in job areas usually held by men. Of significance is the fact that they also serve to successfully solicit male rewards [Ref. 3: p. 269].

(2) Independence. On the other hand, there are women who act out independent behaviors at the opposite extreme from the dependent under-achiever:

> I got tired of all the little remarks and ass-patting one day. As Sergeant _____ passed me, he laid his hand on my tail. "You sure have a tight little ass," he said. I walked right up to him and pinched his ass as hard as I could. "Nice little ass," I said. He never bothered me again after that....
>
> [Ref. 3: pp. 271-272]

> I feel that women can be taught how to protect themselves against unpleasant situations by teaching them where to find regulations and how to use them. There is something in the book to cover nearly every complaint. [Ref. 3: p. 275]

(3) Contingency Consistent with Spiro's Levels 1, 2, 4 and 5. Some women demonstrate an astuteness of the consequences of acting in, or acting in other than traditional ways and initiate behaviors that secure desired results:

> I take advantage of the fact that I am a woman, and that quite often the men feel that they have to protect me. They're reacting to me in the way that a man--they feel that a man should react to a woman. A woman isn't supposed to carry heavy furniture--so if I get down there and start

carrying heavy furniture, I find that very quickly the guys around me--doing it for me. If I were a man, wouldn't happen that way. They'd just sit back and laugh and watch. So--like I say--I'm aware of this happening and I'm trying to take advantage of it to a certain degree. Whatever had to be done in order to get the job done without hurting anybody's feelings...I've found, in the past, that partially because I'm a woman, a lot of the guys will take it as a direct affront to them if they are being told what to do by a woman--especially the young-so-to-speak macho guys. I've had specific problems with that at other stations. And kind of seeing myself--hoping to see myself--as others see me, I feel that using this method just isn't effective. I'm not a big burly guy. I don't think I have the capability of putting on an extremely serious look on my face without someone seeing through it and realizing that I'm not angry and not that serious. So I don't feel that I can give the direct orders because I don't feel that--just seeing me--it would have very much impact. It might have the opposite impact.

E-6, USN, 1982
NPS Interview

(4) The Search for New Forms. Research indicates that over time, pressures from the employment situation cause behavioral and attitude changes. Thus, structural redefinitions can have a causal impact on personality variables. More commonly, adaptation for men and women may mean adapting to expectations that are contrary to those traditional socialized [Ref. 34: p. 330].

Being a small person, I was kind of worried. You hear a lot of stories in the Navy. Boatswain Mate's become Deck Apes. They are known for being big, brawly, brawny people. I was really worried because I'm 5' and quiet. I have a quiet voice--that these people wouldn't take me seriously. I think I never should have worried about it because worrying about it only made me more conscious of the difference--of the problems that I would probably meet up with. When I would go up to address people at headquarters--out on the forecastle--where there's a lot

of wind and a lot of competition from other ships' noise and stuff, it's hard for my voice to carry. So I would say--alright, everybody come around so you can hear--and break from military formation. I did that for about a week before I stopped--because I began to pick up on things--like seaman walking up to me and saying--ma'am--you should let us off--we've worked hard all day--which is not what they should be saying to me. Or if I would tell them to do something--start to argue back. I don't have to argue with these kinds of people so I don't. I just ignore them. But they were taking that as saying--ok, you can go ahead. They were getting wrong kind of cues from me. I started to see that and this second week when I went to quarters--I overhead somebody saying something about--what do you expect us to think about her--you can't even hear her.

So when I went out to quarters, I said--they all started to come in--and I said--nobody told you to move--I want you to stand in formation until I tell you to move. And I was loud--they all heard me in the back row--I'm sure--because everybody looked totally startled. And so I started yelling--which is bad for your voice and everything but I figured that 20-30 minutes a day isn't really going to hurt. So I yelled out and I started making people--demanding them to stand in a more military fashion--quarters started to look better--but the problem with me having an image--you can get away with anything because she never yells--she doesn't care--kind of attitude--still going on. And for instance, the last time I told people that they couldn't go home for liberty until the boat deck was clean and that pushing a broom didn't necessarily mean that the stuff underneath it was being swept up--they really got upset. It was like everybody started screaming and yelling--cussing--which you would not want to do to an officer. I told them to shut up and there were still some people talking. So I yelled at them--shut up--I don't want to hear another word--do you understand? I said--I started to say that I don't have to justify this--it's right to expect that you do your job. Somebody started to say--but, but--I said--I don't want to hear it--shut up--do the job and you're not leaving until you do it. I was really mad--just so mad that I couldn't live with it. So one of the seaman that was more vocal than the other ones comes off and starts shuffling things around--trying to tear down right in front of me. I knew that if I started arguing with him--he'd argue back--and I'd look bad. So I didn't way a word. So I went and got help from the Boatswain--I knew I needed help at this point. He was the Chief Warrant Officer that I mentioned

to you before--my 3rd class and my 1st class and my chief weren't supporting me in those kinds of decisions and when people were yelling and screaming at me, they weren't telling them to shut up--which was their job. And I didn't feel like I was getting any respect. I told him that I have a lot of problems up there with the division--getting them to start thinking production-wise instead of comfort-wise. But that was the kind of problem that I just wasn't equipped to handle at that time. I didn't know what to do. So he took up the problem for me. He went up to the 1st class--the chief had gone--after I had told everybody they had to stay late--the chief had left--and he went up to the 1st class and told him--if you want to know why this boat deck is getting cleaned up--it's because I say that this boat deck has to be clean. And he started yelling and screaming--we pulled the seaman aside and told him that he's a problem--he's always been a problem--I'm looking for every way available to kick you out of the Navy and the next time I hear you swear and tear down in front of an officer--you'll be out of the Navy on your head and yelling and screaming--I thought--oh my God, he's going to blow...and that's going to be the end of him right there. He didn't say a word. All he said was say yes sir. And I realized just how much respect they had for this warrant officer that they didn't have for me. Because of the loudness of his voice--because he's not afraid to project himself. And so the next day the warrant officer spoke to the chief and I learned that I have to start like I deserve respect before I get it. And so the next time that somebody walked up to me and said--ma'am, why don't you let me off? I said--look, that's not your job to ask me--if you want to get off--you talk to your supervisor. And if I want you to get off--I'll talk to the chief and not you--if I want you off. The problem is not solved yet but having a better feeling for exactly the extent of it, I think it's on its way.

Navy O-1, 1982
NPS Interview

The significance of identity considerations is crucial given the propensity of organization members to view women in stereotyped or categorical ways, and the tendency to look to one woman or a few women to represent the aspirations and capabilities of women in genera. Some assessment most

certainly is required to ascertain the validity and generalizability of conclusions resulting from such approaches. (See Appendix B).

E. CONCLUSION: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE MANAGER: SOCIAL COGNITION AND EFFICACY

1. Inconsistencies: Aura of the Ideology

The technological sophistication of modern warfare and the prospect of future conflicts occurring on the integrated (nuclear) battlefield are motivating the need and reality of new forms in the social structure of the military. Major conflicts occur when outdated ideological role constructs are allowed to constrict the evolution of these new forms. Stark inconsistencies are evident between policies and practices that, one one hand, expand the roles of women, and on the other hand act to restrict participation. Inconsistencies are start between publicized assessments of women's demonstrated participation in the All-Volunteer Force as a "success story" and recently implemented policies to restrict that participation; based upon speculative "feelings" of field commanders concerning the "combat effectiveness of organizations as you have large numbers of women in them" [Ref. 22: p. 383].

This isolated focus on women has widespread implications for the utilization of servicewomen.

> There is neglected focus on the organization as a system that governs behavior. The influence of the organization is greater than those of individual personality factors. [Ref. 35: p. 44]

Cynicism and uncertainties are generated:

> "Everytime there is a new study (on women) it never helps morale. The studies make it appear that the issues women face in the military are women problems! There are problems with men. Why don't they include men in these studies. [Ref. 36]

2. The Manager's Challenge

The challenge of the military manager is to facilitate ongoing changes to the military social structure in such a way as to ensure consistency in the optimal utilization of all resources, including personnel resources. The challenge is to do this in a gender integrated, technically oriented environment where many individual personalities have internalized an ideology reflected in a folklore and social structure of the past--one that romanticizes the notion of defense as the conventional warrior, ideally and gloriously masculine.

Thus, implications for management are quite complex. Management is faced with the impact of an ideology that is often subtle; reinforced by historical precedence and motives of career self-interests. One major consequence is persistent (and at times non-conscious) resistance to changes to traditional sex-role orientations in the military social structure.

Implications of resistance to change are much more complex than issues of different behavioral expectations and

self-concepts around jobs, tasks, and role performances. Implications also encompass manifestations of the reality that sex-role differences in American Society also reflect economic, social, and political power differentials. Status and upward mobility advantages have accrued, for the most part, to positions in job areas regarded and rationalized as most appropriately male-dominated. So it is in the military, where the focus of consideration is often combat related.

Managers and policy makers must do more than facilitate a semblance of interpersonal/intergroup harmony in this complex environment. Enlightened and innovative actions and responses are required to exact maximum output from allocated resources. Such response requires a conceptual consideration of dynamics related to efficacy, personal/organizational identity, and resulting performance in the military workplace. Bandura describes the intricacies of this requirement:

> Efficacy in dealing with one's environment is not a fixed act or simply a matter of knowing what to do. Rather, it involves a generative capability in which component cognitive, social, and behavioral skills must be organized into integrated courses of action to serve innumerable purposes. A capability is only as good as its execution. Operative competence requires orchestration and continuous improvisation of multiple subskills to manage everchanging circumstances. Initiation and regulation of transactions with the environment are, therefore, partly governed by judgements of operative capabilities. Perceived self-efficacy is concerned with judgements of how well one can execute courses of action required to deal with prospective situations. [Ref. 37: p. 122]

Heilbrun describes two cognitive functions that are basic to the ability to successfully appraise situational and environmental demands.

> Two cognitive functions were considered: (a) intraception or the tendency to think in terms of social meanings and the motives represented in the behavior of others and one-self; and (b) social insight or "the sensitivity to what others think and feel and the ability to diagnose or appraise the complexities or nuances of interpersonal relationships" [Ref. 38: p. 355]. The individual who combines intraception with social insight presents the highest level of social cognition. [Ref. 39: p. 1108].

Intraception and social insight require awareness of numerous interpersonal/intergroup dynamics in the context of the gender-integrated military environment. This includes assessment of the organization as a culture that motivates behavior [Ref. 35: pp. 44-45]. This requires an understanding of the sex-role ideology that has had historical and contemporary interplay with the other subsystems of this culture.

A view of the military and organizational unit as cultural system; with interrelated structural, ideological, technoeconomic, and personality variables provides such a conceptual context. This view provides the basis for the broadened social perspective required to make objective assessments of the potential for optimal utilization of service personnel. Alternative approaches, such as those that focus on collective gender groups in isolation of cultural and organizational factors, can bind social cognition to a social structure of the past. They can result not only in the perpetuation of often unchallenged notions around sex-roles;

but also in a decreased ability to employ the social cognition needed to exercise initiative and flexibility in most effectively employing those who choose to serve and defend.

Such a systems approach in social cognition is necessary if one is to meet the challenge offered by Holm:

> It is time to accept that modern wars are "fought" not just by an elite class of people categorized as "combatants", but by ALL who serve. It is, and must be, a team effort with each individual doing whatever he or she is trained and expected to do, whether it is repairing a missile or firing it, whether it be servicing the B-52 or flying it, where it be carrying a stretcher or a rifle, where it be driving a truck or a tank. Each person must be made to feel that he or she is an element essential to the success of the whole endeavor.
>
> This is not to make a case for or against women in combat, but to suggest that it is time for a more reasoned approach to the subject than has been the case to date and to suggest that military effectiveness and combat readiness would be enhanced by the elimination of arbitrary barriers to using all the people who serve. The goal should be to provide the greatest possible flexibility in the use of available talents. [Ref. 22: pp. 396-397]

V. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Promulgate explicit information which will serve to challenge the taken-for-granted notion that women service-members "infringe" on "male" job areas.

a. Promulgate, down to the unit level, procedural determinants of sea-shore rotations to counter the notion that women "take-up men's shore billets."

b. Promulgate, at leadership, management, and accession training levels, empirical data related to the quality of men's and women's performance in the gender integrated military work environment.

c. Promulgate, at all Navy echelon and subordinate levels, explicit empirical data related to the cost/benefit analysis factors resulting from increased numbers of women servicemembers.

2. Exploit the sociocultural impact of media to project the gender-integrated work environment as a non-deviant reality of the military.

a. Review public affairs/recruiting/retention oriented materials to ensure that the gender-integrated military environment is realistically portrayed in terms of expectations for types of jobs that will be performed.

b. Utilize such materials to counter the negative or debilitating effects of women's token status in the military, by vicariously projecting the imagery of gender integration as a viable reality in the military.

3. Critically evaluate plans and policies for the present and future utilization of women.

a. Promulgate explicit end-objectives for such utilization.

b. Develop/describe assessment tools that measure the extent to which policy end-objectives are met.

4. Assess the extent to which social support mechanisms exist or may be developed to help facilitate adaptation to ongoing structural role redefinitions in the military environment. Focus on support for men and women service personnel.

5. Review service rationales for assignment policies that go beyond the letter of combat restriction laws for women. Sponsor research, as required, to critically assess the impact that such policies ultimately have on utilization, retention, and advancement of women and men service members.

6. Sponsor research to explore to what extent, if any, leadership's behavioral responses to policies mandating structural role transitions serve to influence subordinate behavior and work group effectiveness.

7. Support research, as required, to determine the extent to which current assessment tools do/might accurately measure the individual's ability to exercise effective social cognition skills in implementing supervisory/leadership/management functions.

8. Assess the extent to which current leadership, management, and accession training orientations contribute to emphasizing, developing, or sharpening social cognition skills.

9. Design relevant case studies/video vignettes to assist in emphasizing, developing or sharpening the social cognition skills of personnel in management/leadership/training areas.

APPENDIX A

EXAMPLES: GENERIC REPRESENTATION

Sex-Based References:

1 U.S.C. 1

Discussion:

1 U.S.C. 1, a definitional statute, states that in all Federal legislation, unless the context indicates otherwise, "words importing the masculine gender include the feminine as well"; both nouns and pronouns are covered by this stipulation. Although no substantive differential may be generated by 1 U.S.C. 1, the current drafting scheme suggests a society in which men are (and ought to be) the dominant participants. Revisions of 1 U.S.C. 1 is recommended to reflect in form as well as substance the equal status of women and men before the law. A new subsection also is proposed, 1 U.S.C. 106(c), instructing drafters to use sex-neutral terminology in all Federal legislative texts. [Ref. 20]

We are under no illusions that this represents a complete work. We never intended to compete with the professional bibliographers and librarians. It is hoped that what is herein provided will be of assistance to the many dedicated officers and men in the Armed Forces who are lending their talents and energies to achieve a condition of equality for all men in the military service. [Ref. 40]

...Throughout this RB the pronoun "he" in any of its forms is intended to include both masculine and feminine genders; any exceptions will be so noted. [Ref. 41]

Although the words "he", "him", and "his", are used in this manual to enhance communication, they are not intended to be gender driven nor to affront or discriminate against anyone reading the Petty Officer Indoctrination Course Student's Journal, NAVEDTRA 10820. [Ref. 42]

APPENDIX B

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION		NUMBER:
CATEGORY: Women in the Navy	SUBJECT: Navy Support	E-12

OBJECTIVE: To ensure the continued awareness of and support for women's programs by Navy leadership.

BACKGROUND: Until the ongoing programs and new initiatives for women have been completely institutionalized, there is a continuing need for the CNO to have ready access to a knowledgeable women officer on his staff who can provide him with the perceptions of Navy women.

SIGNIFICANT ACTION STEPS	MILESTONES					
	FY76	FY77	FY78	FY79	FY80	FY81
1. Ensure that a knowledgeable middle-senior grade woman officer is assigned to the CNO's staff.	Sustain					

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION		NUMBER:
CATEGORY: Women in the Navy	SUBJECT: Women Officers in Aviation	E-13

OBJECTIVE: To evaluate the progress of female naval aviators to determine if the program should be expanded to include additional women.

BACKGROUND: Of the two groups of eight women who were identified as potential naval aviators, thirteen are still in the program. To date no official evaluation has been made of the effectiveness of these women as aviators.

SIGNIFICANT ACTION STEPS	MILESTONES			
	FY76	FY77	FY78	FY79
1. Evaluate the performance of the thirteen women in the aviation program.	4thQ			
2. On the basis of the evaluation, determine whether or not additional women can be accepted in the aviation program.	4thQ			
3. Publish the results of steps 1 and 2.		July 1976		

[Ref. 43]

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